



AN URGENT PROPOSAL

'It is the policy of the City and County of San Francisco that there be an immediate cease-fire and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems.' (Proposition J).

Three years ago, San Francisco voters rejected Proposition P because of the controversy over the phrasing "immediate cease fire and withdrawal" of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Today, President Nixon has proposed standstill cease-fire and the weight of public opinion, Gallup finds, is "now on the side of withdrawing all U.S. troops from Vietnam by July, 1971, or earlier."

The Guardian strongly urges San Franciscans to vote yes on this peace referendum and register, not only a nationally important citizen's vote on the war, but also the start of a program to convert the Bay Area from a full-scale war economy to a genuine peace economy. (See 'The Bay Area is a military society', pg. 4.)

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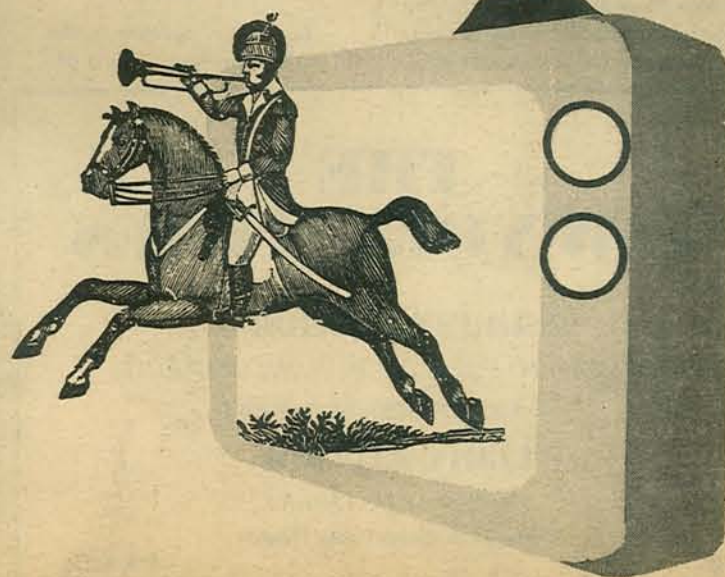


Let's corral some customers

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Said the lettuce grower to the Teamster, 'LET ME CALL YOU SWEETHEART'

By Dick Meister

An astonishing thing happened in the Salinas Valley and environs the other day: About 200 growers announced they had signed agreements with the Teamsters Union.

The growers are perhaps the country's most important targets for union organizers; they had been among the most violent opponents of the unionization of field workers and, until their announcement in late July, they had given no outward sign of changing the position they had held for more than a half-century.

Why the sudden shift? And, if the growers finally were to come to terms with a union, why the Teamsters, which represented only a relative handful of field workers? Why not the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, the AFL-CIO affiliate which was waging a major campaign to organize California's field workers?

Ready and angry

The organizing committee had a ready--and angry--response. The grower-Teamster contracts, charged committee director Cesar Chavez, were "sweetheart agreements" designed to help Anglo growers and Teamster officials at the expense of the Mexican American workers covered by the contracts.

Teamster and grower spokesmen had other explanations. But

that did not keep Chavez and his supporters from demanding that the growers sign agreements with the organizing committee instead.

Most growers refused the demand--and that is why pickets have appeared at markets everywhere to urge shoppers to bypass lettuce. That is why the prices of lettuce and some other fruits and vegetables have been up and the supplies down. That is why field workers walked off their jobs at farms in the Salinas and Santa Maria Valleys which grow much of the country's fruits and vegetables, and why sometimes violent pickets and counter pickets have appeared at the farms.

It is one of the most significant labor struggles ever, one at least as important as the Organizing Committee's five-year-long effort to organize California's grape industry. It began, in fact, as a direct result of the Organizing Committee's success in finally winning union contracts from the state's grape growers.

Loath as they might have been to admit it publicly, most grower spokesmen conceded privately that the grape settlement signalled the inevitable. California's farm workers finally were going to be organized, and those in the Salinas Valley would be the next target of the organizers.

Two alternatives

There were only two apparent alternatives: sign contracts with the Organizing Committee

or face a boycott such as that which cost grape growers millions of dollars before they signed.

There was, however, another alternative that had been overlooked previously. The growers could arrange to sign with another union that would not demand as much as the organizing committee.

At the same time, the growers also could ease the sting of a boycott by pointing out that, unlike the growers who had been the targets in the grape boycott, they were unionized.

Thus, the growers signed the agreements with the Teamsters Union, just a day before Chavez announced the end of the grape strike and boycott and the beginning of new organizing effort in the Salinas Valley region.

The agreements were by far the most extensive in farm labor history. The growers produce, on the farms that blanket a 100-mile stretch of extremely fertile valley land, most of the country's iceberg lettuce, and much of its strawberries and broccoli, cauliflower, tomatoes, carrots, artichokes, celery, garlic and other vegetables.

The growers include some of the country's most influential corporations and, during the harvest peak each year, they employ between 50,000 and 70,000 field workers, or three to four times the entire membership of the Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

The workers were not asked if they wanted any organ-

ization to reach agreements for them. But the agreements nevertheless require them to join the Teamsters within ten days of taking a job and pay union dues of \$1.25 a week, which are to be deducted automatically from their paychecks.

Not asked

The workers were not asked, either, to ratify the terms of the agreements which are to govern their working lives for the next five years. Besides the union shop requirement and the usual prohibition against strikes during the contract period, the agreements set base pay at \$1.75 to \$1.85 an hour for most workers this year as compared to the previous rates of generally \$1.25 to \$1.75.

Piece-rate bonuses also are provided, as previously, and the basic rate is to rise to \$2.21 to \$2.33 an hour by the end of the five-year contract period. Workers also get unemployment insurance coverage and unspecified health and welfare benefits; a formal grievance procedure is set up, and there are minimum safety standards which require growers, for instance, to provide protective clothing to workers who are assigned to certain jobs.

The contracts demanded by the Organizing Committee, and granted by grape growers, are two-year agreements, meaning workers have the chance to press demands to meet future

conditions--an opportunity they do not have under the exceptionally long-term agreements signed by the Teamsters.

The Organizing Committee agreements also call for a bit more pay generally--a base of \$2 to \$2.15 this year, in most cases--and some overtime pay, paid holidays and vacations for some workers, and 12 to 15 cents an hour per worker in employer contributions to health and welfare programs.

However, the crucial differences between the Teamster and Organizing Committee agreements are not financial. The provisions that really set them apart, and which illustrate as much about the current dispute as anything, are those which delineate the power given field workers and their union.

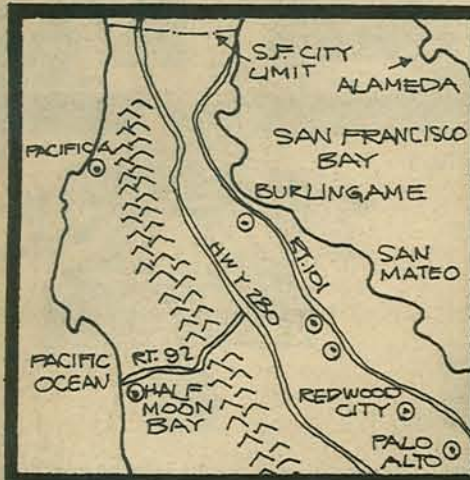
The hiring hall

Under the Organizing Committee's agreements, growers must follow the employment system commonly used by waterfront employers, building contractors and others, including many of those who employ Teamster truck drivers and ware-

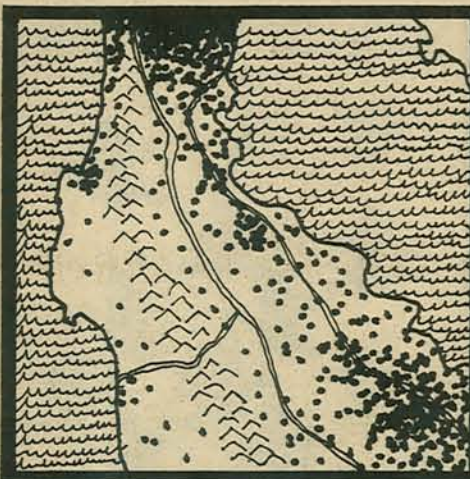
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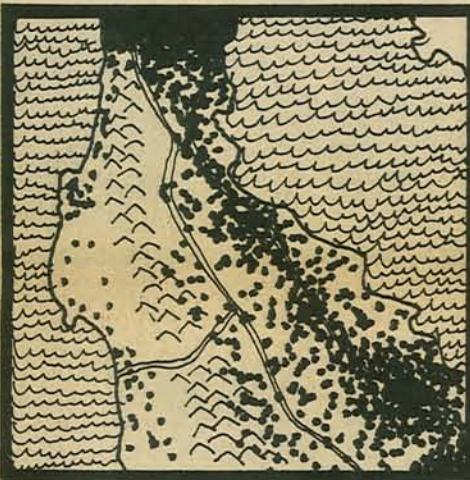
BAYSIDE GROWTH



1950 * San Mateo County population 239,100



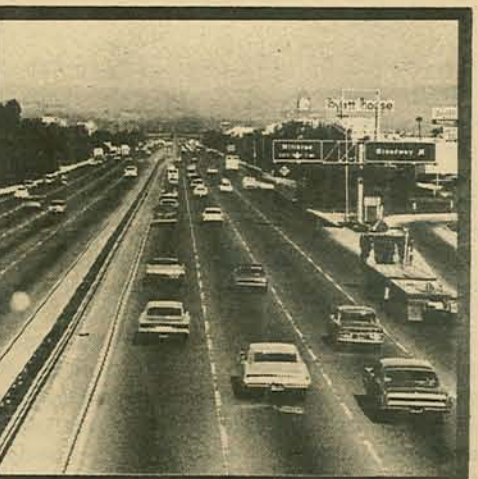
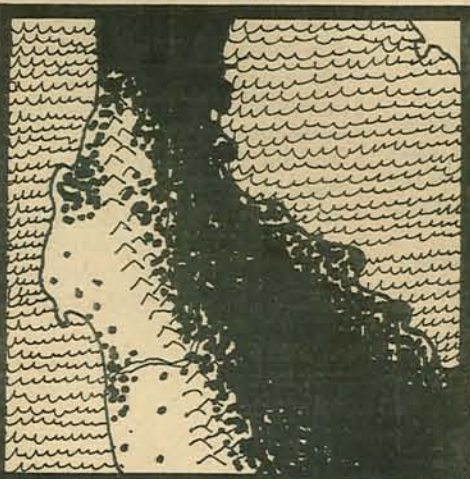
1955 Pop. 345,100



1960 Pop. 449,100



1965 Pop. 511,300



today ** Pop. 558,000

*Picture taken from the Broadway turnoff into Millbrae, looking northward toward S.F. airport turnoff and San Francisco. 1950

**Taken from same place as first picture less than twenty years later. August 12, 1970.

Another Westlake in Half Moon Bay?

By Steve Weeks

More than one third of San Mateo County's central and southern coastline of 59,400 acres is now held by active or waiting developers. In the next two years the development of the coastside will be at full force and on the same scale and velocity as Peninsula development 10 years ago.

Doelger of Westlake is gone, but in his place is the combine of Deane & Deane Westinghouse Electric Corporation, and Los Angeles engineers who together hold ready for development 8,200 acres around Half Moon Bay.

DD/W cast themselves as good guys, bustling about with master plans and sneering at bayside tracts in disgust, but The Guardian has been given some remarkable documents that show how and why they intend to develop their land.

The documents were written by David Pines as his reports to the D'Arcy Advertising Co., a prominent San Francisco advertising agency that was retained by DD/W to promote their projects. Pines, D'Arcy consultant and an architect/planner, attended two lengthy briefings with DD/W officials. Pines' major points, printed below, offer an unusual inside picture of corporate land developers at work:

ON MARKETING: "The means of attracting the market was the topic of the most discussion. The lot sales approach seems to be directed toward a recreation oriented second-home community. The aim is to attract all income levels, however, it was stated that, 'in order to attract people to the environment, we must go after higher income groups.'

"Various means of merchandising were discussed --these ranged from groupsales parties, the placing of "SOLD" signs on unsold lots to show that sales are good, to advertisements showing a beautiful little fishing village, or, pictures of a golf course with Arnold Palmer saying a few words.

IMAGE: "Whatever type of facility which will generate the most interest and excitement, 'the biggest splash,' will proceed first. There was a great deal of discussion as to whether this facility should be a yacht club--shopping center complex or a spectacular clubhouse complex.

"Whatever decision is reached, the approach is geared toward creating an "image." It was proposed that whatever is built, the process of construction would have to be slow and drawn out, 'don't proceed with building too fast, because then when it is finished, all the excitement is gone--just show the people something is happening.' It was obvious that the philosophy is about sales not the building of a viable community.

"Direct advertising possibilities were discussed and ranged from 'buying the local newspaper' to magazine spreads, or to 'going after developers' at the Pacific Coast Builders' Convention in June."

IMPACT OF GROWTH: "It is apparent the Deanes intend to use the proximity of Half Moon Bay to the city of San Francisco as a strong point in the selling of property. Obviously, the population is going to increase, yet there was no concern on the part of Deane & Deane to understand the impact of such growth, other than studying how much land can be turned into profit..."

"The statement was made at the meeting that 'perhaps a couple of hundred thousand people might inhabit the area in the future, who knows.' Certainly, such a myopic view raises serious questions as to the kind of consideration that will be given to providing the police, fire protection and road maintenance, to name but a few."

FUTURE COSTS: "Who will bear the future costs of such necessities? These questions are of direct concern to the prospective lot owner. Where will he shop, where will his children go to school and perhaps most important, what will these necessities cost him in taxes? He may not realize these hidden costs at the time he buys, but they will soon become apparent."

PLANNING: "If the true intention of the Deanes is to create a development of excellent caliber, they must realize that it is necessary to make intensive studies of the land. However, since the state might order a moratorium on all coastal development soon, their attitude was that they 'must get moving and get some construction going.'

"It is impossible to accept such an attitude when the consequences to the land are understood."

DENSITY: "I posed the question about such prospective lot owners and if they would be informed of the possibility of high and low density lots right next to each other--the question was disregarded."

TRAFFIC: "How does the new increase in vehicular traffic affect the neighboring houses? What happens to vistas, open space needs and residential densities? These and other situations are affected in a detrimental way by the prevailing attitude."

"A complete and competent master plan is essential. Such a development cannot be based solely on the possibilities of profit."

'MEMBERS ONLY': "Communities, of whatever size, exist through the piling up of people's activities...in them...An exclusive golf-course and clubhouse 'for members only' and other 'private' facilities will not even begin to serve as community focal points."

MAXIMUM DENSITY: "I raised a number of questions as to the appropriateness of such a plan (with 60-foot lots on a ridge.) What is the relationship of such a crowded and dense lot pattern to open space? How can riding and hiking trails be incorporated into such a closed plan?"

"Again, I met with a defensive response...the criteria or its development was to cram in the maximum number of lots possible."

"This already is inconsistent with the concern for an 'excellent job' proclaimed to be the goal of the Deanes."

In prospect

In the undeveloped portion of San Mateo County's coast, from above Half Moon Bay to the Santa Cruz border, land speculators and development companies already own more than 20,000 acres. The combine of Deane & Deane /Westinghouse bought 8,200 acres that form a crescent around the town of Half Moon Bay from Henry Doelger, of Westlake fame.

Deane & Deane, a father-son team associated with several large southern California developments, has presented its 8,200 acre development to the Half Moon Bay city council as part of a 28,000 acre master plan which will eventually provide for 160,000 people in the Half Moon Bay area. The city's present population: less than 12,000.

Other parcels slated for development: 122 acres on the southern end of the city of Half Moon Bay owned by L.C. Smith Co.; over 1,500 acres of ocean front land owned in three contiguous parcels by Wells Fargo Trust, L.J. Debenedetti, and Wells Fargo Bank, about three miles south of Half Moon Bay; some 15 miles south of Half Moon Bay the Crummer Corp. of Beverly Hills owns 4336 acres of ocean front land; 4,319 acres of ocean front property bordering the Crummer land owned by Theodore Char, front man for Golden Sun Realtors of Hawaii. This, of course, is only the beginning.

Deane & Deane/Westinghouse recently got 700 acres of their land, three miles north of Half Moon Bay, annexed to the city. They are now preparing the land to be sold in sections that will hold 1,200 units of housing. Also: Deane & Deane/Westinghouse plan to annex the majority of their land, which is in the El Granada region, to Half Moon Bay, then ready it for commercial parcelling.

officers down, or from the rank and file up?

Valley, but the Organizing Committee, though apparently caught by surprise, moved swiftly. Chavez declared "all-out war" and marched into Salinas with several hundred field workers and no less an AFL-CIO representative than William Kircher, the labor federation's national director of organization.

Pickets went immediately to a farm where 250 field workers had been fired for not joining the Teamsters, and nearly 1,000 workers struck at another farm. Growers got a court order against what was ruled an illegal jurisdictional dispute, but the pickets kept marching nevertheless and Chavez began "a penitential fast against injustice."

Higher Teamster officials, notably Director Einar Mohn of the union's Western Conference, concluded that peace had to be restored and, within a few days, a treaty was arranged through the committee of Roman Catholic Bishops that had been instrumental in settling the grape dispute.

The treaty, signed on Aug. 12, was almost a verbatim reiteration of the treaty signed in 1967 by Chavez and Grami. In re-allocating jurisdiction over field workers to the Organizing Committee, Grami also agreed that growers holding field worker contracts with the Teamsters could sign contracts with the committee.

There was a catch, however. Growers who signed Teamster contracts would not agree to give them up, and Grami claimed the union treaty bound both unions to honor the growers' wishes.

"If we could get the Teamster contract from Chavez," said Fleming, "then maybe in the long run Chavez would have to shape up and act like a businessman and it would work out. But as of now, we growers here are ready to fight to protect our workers from intimidation (by the Organizing Committee) and our rights as farmers."

The bishops' committee and Chavez' forces tried for nearly two weeks to get the Teamsters and growers to relent. But they remained firm, helped at least indirectly by a State administration which was not about to intervene, and Organizing Committee members finally voted to strike.

Restoring peace

It was, in the first days, the largest and most effective farm strike since those days in the valley in the 1930s, when John Steinbeck was there to record the drama. More than 5,000 workers walked out and shipment of produce was cut to a trickle. Unlike the grape strike, it also was violent, with serious beatings suffered by Teamster and Organizing Committee partisans alike.

Hundreds of Organizing Committee members, mostly Mexican-American migrants and most under 30, lined the roads in front of fields that sprawled out before them around Salinas. They glared defiantly at sheriff's deputies and private guards; they waved the brilliant crimson and black banners of their organization and they chanted endlessly. "Huelga, huelga...strike, strike..." Boisterously determined, they shuttled constantly

between the picket lines and a crowded, noisy and ramshackle headquarters.

Grami quarterbacks

In town, alone in a quiet, sterile motel suite strikingly like those which once housed men who directed the battles of grape growers, Bill Grami directed two dozen Teamster organizers by telephone. The Organizing Committee had "flagrantly violated" the peace treaty by striking, Grami reasoned, so he was free to begin organizing field workers again.

The growers went to court again, to get more than 30 restraining orders. There were dozens of arrests, but pickets ignored these orders, too.

Within a week, Inter Harvest, the area's largest growers, was calling for contract negotiations with Chavez. Inter Harvest, which grows almost one-fourth of all Salinas Valley lettuce was extremely worried over the Organizing Committee's threat to call a boycott against the products of all firms which, like Inter Harvest, are owned by United Brands. That would mean, among other things, Chiquita Bananas sold through United Fruit, goodies peddled at A & W Root Beer stands and ice cream cones sold at Baskin-Robbins.

Cal Watkins, personnel manager for United Fruit, claimed Inter Harvest had signed with Teamsters as the result of a meeting of growers in Salinas on July 23. He said the growers there instructed Herb Fleming and other officers of their association to "feel out the Teamsters" on contracts--even though the Teamsters "did not even claim to represent field workers" at that time.

Keep Chavez out

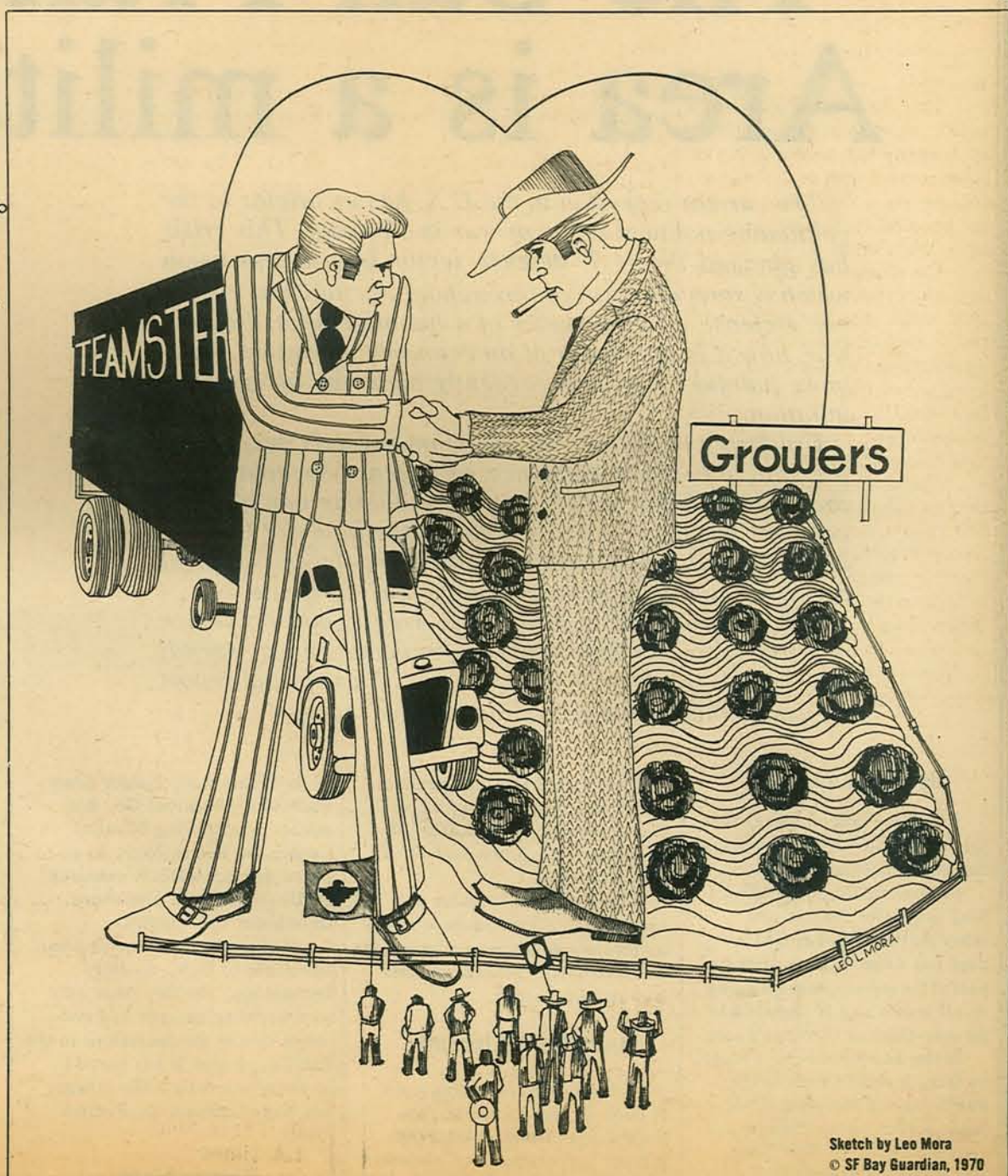
The idea, Watkins added, was to keep the Organizing Committee out. But after a week of efforts, the Teamsters were able to sign up only 108 of Inter Harvest's 1,000 workers, he said, and the company had no choice but to negotiate a contract with the Organizing Committee, since most of its workers belonged to that organization.

Other grower spokesmen scoffed at Watkins' explanation as what one called "more or less face-saving" and counter-pickets shut down the firm's operations after it signed with the Organizing Committee.

The counter-pickets--Teamsters and right-wing grower allies who carried American flags and signs proclaiming them to be "Citizens Against United"--kept produce haulers off the job for about a week, but finally obeyed a court order which they had ignored. Then, several other major growers followed Inter Harvest to the bargaining table, also largely for fear of national boycotts against products sold by affiliated companies.

Many of the smaller unaffiliated growers continued to hold out, however, and finally got a court order which most strikers obeyed. It was issued after the State Supreme Court set aside the earlier orders because the Monterey County Superior Court had heard from only one party--the growers--before the orders were issued.

This time, Superior Court Judge Anthony Brazil called in lawyers for both parties before



Sketch by Leo Mora
© SF Bay Guardian, 1970

reiterating the ruling that growers were the victims of a strike by workers who illegally demanded that they tear up valid teamster contracts.

The judge waved aside the Organizing Committee's argument that the contracts were invalid because the workers had not voted to be represented by the Teamsters. He ruled that there could be only one informational picket at 22 of the farms making up the strikers' prime targets, none at the eight others.

An even greater blow came in the form of what has been a fact of life for all farm union organizers: Farm strikes, although often effective during the first few exciting days, just do not work.

There is too much territory to picket, and there is a ready supply of marginal workers to replace the farm workers who risk walking off the job--despite their poverty and almost total lack of the legal and financial protections that make it much easier for other workers to strike and to stay on strike for more than just a brief period.

Back on the job

Thus most strikers were back on the job by mid-September, crop shipments rose to at least two-thirds of normal and the Organizing Committee had to do what it had done with great success in the vineyard dispute. It called a boycott.

Officially, the strike continued, but the major effort was at food markets in 64 cities across the country, where committee members and supporters have begun to urge shoppers to ignore lettuce from growers who "are denying farm workers the

right to negotiate their own contracts and determine their own future."

This will be more difficult than the grape boycott, however. Lettuce, after all, is a staple, and the growers, in a national anti-boycott campaign they have launched, can point out that lettuce is "grown, harvested and shipped by union workers."

It is, growers spokesman Fleming announced, a "petty jurisdictional boycott that would penalize the vast majority of our (Teamster) union field workers and deprive the housewife of her right to free choice."

The growers can be certain, at any rate, that Teamster truck drivers will not refuse to handle lettuce as they sometimes refused to handle grapes and grape products during the earlier Organizing Committee boycott.

The lettuce growers also can be certain of support from the directors of the big supermarket chains who also supported the grape growers. In some cases, in fact, the directors are the same individuals who also sit on the boards of major farming corporations and thus are eager to ignore union demands to take lettuce off their shelves.

While describing themselves as unselfish defenders of free enterprise, the lettuce growers describe Chavez as a ruthless, all-powerful union boss, often in the same terms as righteous editorial writers once described Teamster President John Hoffa.

Why are the growers resisting Chavez' organization? "Out of concern," declared Caryl Saunders of the Western Iceberg Lettuce Association, "for the safety of our nation's economic structure if so great a portion of the control of our food supply falls

into the hands of one man."

Many of the growers, adds a United Fruit spokesman, "feel that Chavez must be stopped for the good of the country; they think he is tied up with communism."

Chavez and his supporters are no slouches, either, when it comes to describing their opponents as uniformly evil and, as Chavez charged, locked in "an unholy alliance."

They, too, speak of "conspiracies"--a favorite one being that Governor Reagan and Teamster leader Einar Mohn engineered the Teamster-grower agreements.

But behind the rhetoric, and the pledges on both sides to hold firm at all costs, the hints are the dispute will be settled far more quickly than was the grape dispute.

Teamster leaders have withdrawn most of the field organizers they had sent to the Salinas Valley and they may be looking for a graceful, face-saving way to reach a new peace agreement, possibly through the AFL-CIO's top national officers, if not through the bishops' committee.

Ranking Teamster officials, at any rate, indicate privately the odds are too heavily against their union because of Chavez' position as a near-messiah.

Whatever happens, the most significant development already has occurred. Unionization has come to the great Salinas Valley. Now, the only questions are whether it is to be of the Teamster variety or that of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, and when, not whether, it will spread to orchards and fields everywhere else.

'The San Francisco Bay Area is a military society'

The current recession in the U.S. has its origins in the continuing political crisis of war in Vietnam. This crisis has plunged the U.S. defense sector into a depression which is spreading waves throughout the national economy. Defense was the center of a boom generated by the war; now it is the center of an economic downturn made more painful by an unprecedentedly high rate of currency inflation.

California is feeling this recession severely because of the state's heavy dependence on defense spending. But the problem is not simply one of weathering one of those cold war business cycles. At stake is the future of California's industrial base and the long-term development of regional economies in the Bay Area and elsewhere.

The economic crisis in the Bay Area is not too severe yet. But given the Bay Area's dependence on war spending, serious trouble is bound to come. This special report measures the great depth of that dependence.

By Martin Gellen

The San Francisco Bay Area, it can be said without exaggeration, is a militarized society.

Federal military spending here is greater than in any other metropolitan region except Los Angeles, accounts for half of the government spending at all levels and is responsible for one-third of the area's jobs.

If the Bay Area were a state, in fact, it would rank as the fourth largest recipient of defense dollars in the country, exceeded only by New York, Texas and California.

The ever-increasing amount reached a staggering \$4.2 billion in 1969. Half went to buy goods and services, 28.5 per cent or \$1.2 billion for payrolls, \$438 million or 9.9 per cent for veterans' programs and \$292 million or 6.5 per cent for atomic energy programs.

\$930 each

Looked at another way, about 60 per cent of the money went to supply, maintain and operate military posts and installations. The rest went into production and research, with aerospace firms on the Peninsula getting \$1.289 billion or 29 per cent of all local military expenditures.

On a per capita basis, this means that Federal military money is being poured into the Bay Area at a rate of about \$930 for every single person.

Los Angeles draws more military dollars--36 per cent of the total spent in California as contrasted with the Bay Area's 30 per cent--but the per capita figure there is \$735. For California as a whole, it is \$750.

The government spends a lot less for other programs. The per capita figure for its Bay Area expenditures on education, welfare, health and culture services is \$386 per person.

Jobs, jobs

The military spending has its greatest impact on employment. About 217,000 jobs, or just slightly more than 11 per cent of the Bay Area's employment total, are directly dependent on the military.

But that is only a small part of the picture. For the personal spending by these workers generates roughly another 434,000 jobs.

This means that, directly or indirectly, the military expenditures account for 651,000 jobs--and that's 33.3 per cent of all Bay Area jobs.

Many of these workers are involved in a vast array of research and development projects in electronics, guided missiles and atomic energy.

Lockheed Aircraft

A large portion of this work is done by the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, the largest private corporation in California and the recipient of about half of all the Federal procurement money spent in this region.

Last year, Lockheed grossed \$796,379,000 in military contracts at its plants in Palo Alto, Pleasanton, Santa Cruz and Sunnyvale. Almost all the money went to the Sunnyvale plant which produces Poseidon missiles and a variety of special satellites for the space program and for counter-insurgency use in Asia.

Other important aerospace centers are at Philco-Ford in Santa Clara, which got \$63,244,000 in military contracts last year, and at Sylvania in Mountain View, with \$45,153,000 in contracts.

Along with Stanford Research Institute, these two firms have been working on electronic battlefield programs to be used in place of the large numbers of ground troops in Southeast Asia or elsewhere as needed.

It's spreading

Employment has been declining in recent months. But for the past two decades the aerospace industry has been the key factor shaping the spectacular economic growth of the belt between San Francisco and San Jose.

The industry has been responsible for about one-third of the jobs developed in Santa Clara County over the past decade, and at least 60 per cent of the jobs in the county today are dependent in one way or another on military spending.

Lately, the aerospace industry has been spreading to other sections of the Bay Area. Fledgling research and development complexes already exist in places like San Leandro, Richmond and Walnut Creek.

In Pleasanton, Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Co. has opened a sprawling 80-acre Center for Technology, to replace and consolidate research facilities situated elsewhere throughout the country.

Along with its valuable contributions to U.S. military technology, the Bay Area acts as a key staging area and command center for operations in the Pacific--a role it has played in every war which the country has waged around the Pacific rim.

Army, Navy

San Francisco's Presidio, for example, is the headquarters of the Sixth Army, the third largest in the country with about 70,000 troops, 11,000 civilian employees and 40,000 reservists assigned to various units.

Also situated in the city is Letterman General Hospital, with an annual patient load of more than 250,000, many of them war casualties in Vietnam.

In Oakland, there is the army base, the Western Military Traffic Management and Terminal Service and the Military Ocean Terminal.

Through these facilities move all the army personnel travelling to military bases in Southeast Asia and the entire Pacific and most of the ammunition and other supplies.

Naval district

The Twelfth Naval District, which covers Northern California, Utah and Nevada and is responsible for the Naval defense of the entire Western Pacific and Western United States, also is situated in the Bay Area.

The District has more than 26,000 uniformed people, 43,000 civilian employees and a yearly payroll of nearly \$400 million. (The Navy also spends about \$1.3 billion a year with local firms for supplies, research and service.)

District facilities include the naval shipyards at Hunters Point and Mare Island, a weapons station in Concord, a supply center at Oakland and Military Sea Transportation Service facilities.

The two shipyards alone include half the West Coast's major shipbuilding facilities. Hunters Point does conversion, overhaul and repair work, while Mare Island has been used for construction.

Since 1958, the Mare Island facility has built and delivered 13 nuclear submarines to the Pacific Fleet and currently is building three more.

Ammunition supplies

The weapons station--largest of its kind--supplies ammunition for all armed forces connected with the Pacific Fleet and the supply center handles most of the other supplies--a \$6 million-a-year operation.

The Sea Transportation Service, which carries all the cargo, puts about \$100 million in contracts and subsidies annually into the Bay Area's maritime industry.

The Air Force also has important facilities in the area, especially at Travis Air Force Base at Fairfield just north of San Francisco.

The base is the Western Pacific center for the Military Airlift Command, meaning it is responsible for such tasks as evacuating wounded troops by air, taking air photographs, providing weather reports and rescuing downed pilots throughout the entire Pacific region. It houses the second largest Air Force hospital in the world.

Engineers too

Finally, the Army Corps of Engineers has its Northern California and South Pacific divisions situated in San Francisco.

They direct all military construction in California and eight other western states, help in nuclear testing programs and secure labor and supplies for Army construction projects in several Asian areas.

The Corps also acts as real estate agent for other federal agencies, military and otherwise, in buying, selling and directing the development of federal lands.

Bay development

The Corps has extensive control over the bay's development, far greater than the Bay Conservation and Development Commission. It has always supported large Bay fill projects and currently wants to reclaim more than 90 acres for an aircraft carrier maintenance site near the Alameda Naval Air Station.

The role of the agencies, Army, Navy and Air Force, in planning, managing, and directing U.S. operations in Vietnam has had a great economic impact on the area.

The war alone is responsible for 21,000 new jobs in the area or 16.7 per cent of the total increase in employment since 1965. Indirectly, the war has generated another 44,000 jobs, meaning that almost half of the new jobs created were dependent in one way or another on the war in Vietnam. The center of this boom has been the water and air transportation industry, which has accounted for nearly one-third of the new war-related jobs.

Military shipments from Pacific Coast ports--about 55 per cent of all that going to Vietnam have more than tripled since 1965, coming close to totals recorded during the high points of World War II.

The Port of Oakland, where most of the transportation activity is centered, has received more than \$120 million in military contracts.

Private shipping firms that are the port's tenants also have done well. In 1969, for instance, the Sealand firm got \$62,269,000 from the Defense Department and the Seatrain firm got \$64,532,000.

In San Francisco, States Marine Lines got \$87,059,000, U.S. Lines about \$20 million and American President Lines close to \$25 million.

Air freight carriers have done extremely well, especially those at Oakland International Airport which have the Military Airlift Command at Travis Air Force Base as their main customer.

Airline money

Capitol International Airways got \$16,445,000 in military contracts in 1969: Saturn got \$20,057,000; Trans International Airlines, \$20,996,000; Universal Airlines, \$23,389,000 and World Airways, \$54 million.

As a matter of fact, between 60 and 70 per cent of all the revenues of the five airlines comes from military business, and the five companies in turn control about four-fifths of the country's supplemental charter airlines industry.

Since the military transportation complex is a key part of the Bay Area economy, those who play the leading roles in its management also are leading figures in the regional business establishment.

The Bay Area, for example, has the country's largest chapter of the National Defense Transportation Association, a worldwide organization composed of 15,000 executives involved in civilian and military transportation.

The president of the Bay Area chapter is John Wagner, a senior vice president of Pacific Far East Lines, which has received as much as \$20 million since 1966 for shipping food and other perishable military cargo to the Far East.

The chairman of the chapter's board is W.P. Pierce of the Kaiser Steel Corporation, a subsidiary of Kaiser Industries, which gets about 15 per cent of its revenue from military contracts.

Ben E. Nutter, a vice president of the chapter, got started in professional life as an engineer building air bases in the Pacific during World War II and is executive director and chief engineer for the Port of Oakland. He is responsible for the Port of Oakland's aggressive campaign to become the chief military and commercial transportation carrier in the Western Pacific and is closely tied to the Kaiser interests.

Then of course, there's the Bank of America, the major banker for American economic development in Asia.

Bank role

The bank is the major financial agent for the Port of Oakland, the Kaiser empire, and holds an interest in Consolidated Freightways, which owns Pacific Far East Lines. Through its in-

Continued on page 5

Military spending accounts for half the federal spending and one- third of the jobs

—Continued from page 4

vestment in the four top supplemental charter airlines, the bank also is responsible for financing arrangements of close to 40 per cent of the military airlift activities in California.

In the past couple of months, the bank's financial aid also has been one of the major factors

guishable from it.

In our midst, there also has developed a superstructure of military institutions which determine land use and health care and consumption and production, not only for military personnel but directly and indirectly for a vast portion of the civilian population as well.

Under such conditions, the

Military expenditures in 11-county Bay Area, 1969

Defense Department	\$3,297,635,000
Veterans Administration	438,501,500
AEC	272,549,000
Navy	99,353,000
NASA	86,411,100
Selective Service	742,400
TOTAL	\$4,195,192,000

County Totals

Santa Clara	\$1,503,630,500
Alameda	946,805,000
San Francisco	428,028,435
Solano	386,722,900
Monterey	265,884,000
Contra Costa	237,052,000
San Mateo	167,831,800
Marin	92,811,000
Sonoma	32,793,300
Santa Cruz	17,151,800
Napa	7,527,000

keeping Lockheed Aircraft out of bankruptcy.

This is by no means a new role for the bank. It first became a key financial force in Bay Area war industries during World War II, when it joined Kaiser and Standard Oil to head the Control and Planning Division of the San Francisco Port of Embarkation.

It is clear, then, that the staggering ascent of American power in the Pacific which began at that time has created a highly complex network of militarized economic and government operations throughout the Bay Area.

We have a militarized industrial base which, although it appears separate from the civilian economy, is in reality indistin-

foreign policy crisis over Vietnam obviously will disrupt the Bay Area.

The failure of American intervention in Asia can only mean failure for the war economy at home.

Inflation, rising unemployment, the deterioration of vital social services, the increasing consolidation of police power--all this represents the ultimate logic of this economy geared to war.

Martin Gellen is a staff member of the Bay Area Institute. An adaptation of this article will appear in "Economic Conversion in the Bay Area," to be published by the Bay Area Institute.



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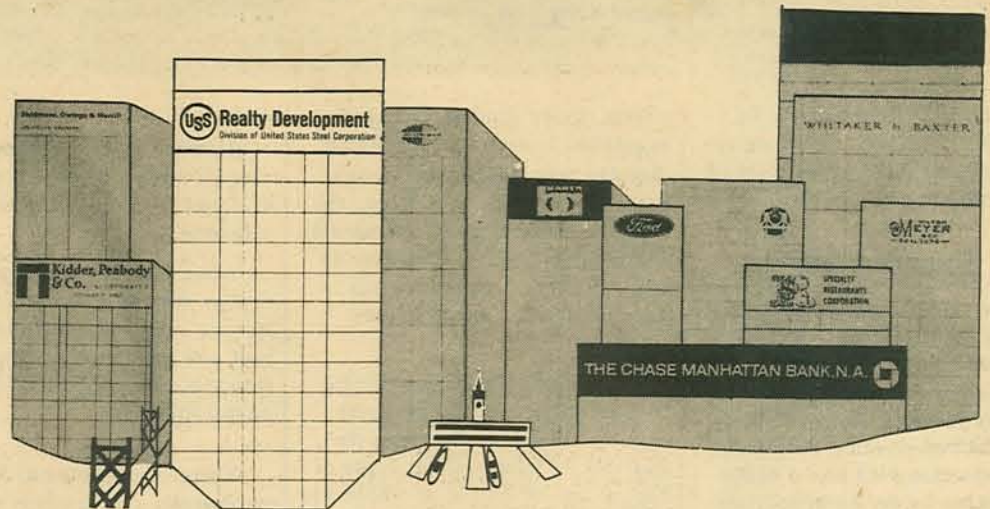
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June, 1968: Guardian lead story, "Manhattan Madness," detailed the high rise politics behind the businessmen's plans to Manhattanize San Francisco. "Manhattanize" used for the first time as a verb. Said Roger Lapham, "The end result of BART is that San Francisco will be just like Manhattan."

November, 1968: Guardian editorial blasted the Burton Act and the San Francisco ballot propositions that transferred the port of San Francisco -- and, the key but unpublished point -- the port's outstanding indebtedness of \$60,939,000 -- from the state to the city. This made inevitable the Magnin/Alito/Shorenstein/SPUR waterfront development proposals.

February, 1970: Announced Dale Rosen's front page story: "San Francisco's waterfront has been put on the real estate market and is now being auctioned off to giant corporations by the City and Port of San Francisco."

She named the corporations, characterized Alito and Magnin as the two chief "waterfront hucksters," mapped out precisely "the wall of Magnin" at water's edge, doped out the project's messy politics. It's all "in the San Francisco tradition of Candlestick Park and Hetch Hetchy power," she concluded.

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'THE FOOD CONSPIRACY,' AN UNDERGROUND SUPERMARKET

By Phil Tracy

Somewhere in the depths of San Francisco's inner city, there is a band of plotters organized into a deliberately primitive co-operative dedicated to nothing more sinister than buying the week's groceries.

It is The Food Conspiracy, the counter-culture's unique version of the old-fashioned co-op where member families pool their buying power for better prices by buying in large quantities.

Unlike the more traditional co-operatives, there is no board of directors, no full or part-time employees and no store. Everybody pays \$2 to join and the only big financial investment is the \$500 put out as "front money" to get the operation going.

The success of the Conspiracy rests on the assumption that its co-conspirators deal with each

order for beans, rice, spices, honey, unprocessed sugar, flour and a variety of esoteric kinds of grain.

Once the family order has been decided, it is phoned into a neighborhood coordinator, usually on Wednesday evenings. The neighborhood coordinators assemble all their order for relay to the central coordinator, who makes up the weekly master shopping list for up to 200 families, from six or seven neighborhoods in San Francisco.

Early buying

Early Saturday morning, usually around 6:30, previously assigned Conspiracy members rendezvous at various locations around the city. These are the purchasing teams. They do the buying early to insure the best selection and choice quality.

One team goes to the Farmer's Market at 100 Alemany Blvd.,

back yard, another time a store run by a Conspiracy member. Sidewalk garages, a local free school or the front lawn of someone's home also have been used. The location gets out to Conspiracy members by word of mouth.

Setting up

The Conspiracy usually starts business around 9 a.m. Members come by select and weigh what they ordered on Wednesday and settle up with a cashier appointed for the day.

They are expected to buy exactly what they ordered, no more, no less. But this doesn't always work out; eggs and cheese often run out early, or half the fish order doesn't get picked up.

At noon the Conspiracy is "opened" and people who have failed to place an order that week or have yet to join are allowed to buy whatever is left



Photos by Phil Tracy

ing on the Conspiracy, some prove adept at shirking responsibility and several Conspiracy members find it necessary to devote ten hours a week or more to keep the thing going.

Then there's the health department. Health codes, if rigidly enforced, could put the Conspiracy out of business tomorrow, so the Conspiracy gives the health dept. a wide berth. By the time the police get around to checking out an irate citizen's complaint that 50 longhaired freaks are buying oranges and apples right across the street from their lovely duplex, everybody has split.

The SF Conspiracy does not give out names or addresses, for fear of attracting too many people who might want something for nothing as much as for fear of health authorities.

But the word has spread nevertheless, and the biggest problem facing the Conspiracy now is keeping down its size. It started about a year ago with 20 members; today it has about 400--and there is no sign that growth is slowing.

There are several other similarly operated "conspiracies" in the Bay Area. Not as reluctant to disclose their addresses, they are:

The Willow Avenue Collective Food Conspiracy, 122 Willow Ave. in Corte Madera and 918 C St., San Rafael. Call 924-1159 for information or to volunteer. Orders must be in by 11 a.m. Fridays for pickup

between 3:30 and 5:30 p.m. Tuesdays.

Parker Good Eats, 2222 Parker, Berkeley. Organized by the Submarine Church Collective and open to anyone. Order by Thursday, pick up food on Saturday afternoon.



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other honestly and fairly. To a remarkable degree that assumption appears justified in light of the Conspiracy's experience.

Shopping list

The bread and butter operation of the Conspiracy is simple enough. Each week the member families decide which items they wish to purchase from a "shopping list" of produce available. The selection includes a fairly complete variety of fresh fruits and vegetables, several kinds of cheese, eggs, and five or six varieties of inexpensive fish.

No meat. It goes bad too quickly and since it must be purchased by the half or quarter-section to get any real discount it is just too hard to handle.

There is a separate monthly

where every kind of fruit and vegetable in season is available, directly from family farms near San Francisco. By and large, the farmers who sell there are honest and friendly, and the quality of food is several cuts above the standard fare of most produce counters.

A second teams heads for the V-C Egg Company to purchase eggs and cheese. The eggs are guaranteed fresh and all types of cheese are available at wholesale prices. Fish is purchased at A. Paladini.

Once the buyers have done their work, all the food is taken to the distribution center of the week. Like some floating crap game, it is never in the same place twice in a row.

One week it may be someone's

over.

(Nothing is ever supposed to be thrown away. Any final surplus is donated to the Indians on Alcatraz.)

After that a clean-up crew repairs whatever ravages the Conspiracy may have inflicted on its host and the members melt back into the community until the next Saturday.

There are problems. While technically no members should have to spend more than two or three hours once a month work-

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Pink	Thursday	Saturday
Green	Friday	Monday
White	Saturday	Tuesday

The color code is both baking date (one day previous) and pick-up date. Bread baked on Wednesday is delivered on Thursday and picked up if not sold on Saturday. Oroweat, baker of Co-op breads, is closed on Tuesdays and Saturdays.

Co-op Special Formula Bread is made according to a formula developed by Cornell University. The ingredients include enriched white flour, wheat germ, soy flour and dry skim milk, which improve the value of the protein and increase the vitamin content.

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3667 Castro Valley Blvd. Castro Valley	71 Tamal Vista Blvd. Corte Madera	

Shop CO-OP

Shop CO-OP

THE SUPERMARKET TRAP, AND HOW TO SPRING IT

By Jennifer Cross

This piece is based on "The Supermarket Trap," by Jennifer Cross, published by the Indiana University Press, \$5.95.

Going food shopping these days is like going on a complicated hunting expedition.

Today's food industry is too crowded for its own good, or, in trade terms, it's overbuilt. Today's shopper has a choice of five or six markets within comfortable reach; 15 years ago, it was only two to three. Consequently, the number of supermarket customers has grown from 1, 100 to 1, 200 to 3, 600 per store.

Profits also have slipped. They are currently around 1 per cent of sales, compared with the 1.5 per cent to 2 per cent of 15 to 20 years ago.

Manufacturers are in a comparable bind. New products are hitting the shelves at an ever-increasing rate that has reached

8,000 a year. Most of them die, partly because they can't win the ferocious battle for shelf space. Even the survivors don't always show fat profits.

The food industry's dilemma has produced a costly flood of confusing marketing tricks--advertising, stamps, games and clever packaging. These and other inedibles or inessentials, come to 23.3 per cent of our annual food bill, some \$455 for a family of four.

Added to this is a scientific use of store layout and customer shopping habits to turn a quick shopping trip into a long and costly safari.

The idea is to get people to shop like so many hummingbirds, flitting from one brightly colored package to another. Food displays are purposely laid out to catch the eye and pull the shopper from one counter to another so she is exposed to as many items as possible.

On a typical trip around a supermarket, a housewife, husband and young sons in tow,

might easily run into such traps as these:

A new lipstick which caught her eye, which she didn't really need, but which she bought anyway. Scratch 79 cents plus tax.

A half-gallon of strawberry ice cream. She didn't need that, either, but son No. 1 insisted. Scratch 69 cents.

Easy-to-prepare meat, which she buys in place of chuck roast which is on special, because she isn't sure how to tenderize it. She also pays an extra ten cents for a cut-up, rather than whole, chicken, and another 26 cents extra for some high-priced London Broil that was cut by the butcher from round steak.

Fancy Danish pastry, bought purely on impulse. That's another 69 cents.

Potato chips, which she buys, also for 69 cents, mostly because the display was at eye level and she happened to feel hungry.

A \$1.37 bottle of shampoo, which said, "NEW!" on the label and so tempted her to buy, even though she has a half-used bottle of another brand at home.

Candy bars. Her son takes three 10 cents bars and, though she's annoyed, she lets him keep them to avoid a scene.

Beer. If she was alone, she would have bought only one six-pack, but her husband insists on buying three six-packs of his favorite--at \$1.48 each.

The checkout counter, where she picks up a 20 cent magazine because her eye was caught by the recipes and is overcharged seven cents on another item because the checker misread the price.

The "welcome room," where she sat for a moment to rest her feet, pacify the children--and remember an item she had forgotten.

The housewife spent almost \$10, then, for items which, while perhaps convenient, were not strictly necessary. Just think how this could mount over a year. And suppose the housewife really had to cut her household expenses to the bone? Could she do it? Would she know how?

Sea&Ski LIPSAVERS bait the hook to catch the young market!



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Yesterday, lip protection seemed to be nothing more than a little camphor, a little wax. Sea & Ski Lipsavers changed all that. With flavors, 4 flavors. And all of them medicated and non-waxy. They're grabbing a new young market. In Skiing, Playboy, Seventeen, Look, Hot Rod and 5 more young-market magazines! Do yourself a flavor--stock Sea & Ski Lipsavers.

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The man from Berkeley Redevelopment Agency says:

'We're not a charitable agency,
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We're in business.

We're business men.'

By Chester W. Hartman

Berkeley's first redevelopment project is proving what has been learned about renewal programs in hundreds of other cities: The projects are far more efficient in displacing families and clearing houses than in creating new housing or meeting broad community needs.

The Berkeley project is on a 20-square block site bounded by University Avenue, the East-shore Freeway, Cedar and Sixth Streets, where the city's redevelopment agency plans to create the "West Berkeley Industrial Park."

The aim is to "provide an opportunity for Berkeley to attract and keep job and tax producing industry"--meaning it is a big businessman's project planned with Chamber of Commerce help.

Redevelopment Agency officials claim it will create 900 to 1,000 new jobs in the area. But project critics feel it will not live up to this promise any more than it will live up to others.

Plastic city

The West Berkeley Ocean View Committee, spokesman for most families and small businesses in the area, claims it "will encourage more removal of the poor, the blacks, chicanos and non-conforming whites."

Berkeley, said the committee, "will become a sterile and plastic city for the middle-class technologists and the upcoming young executives."

The decision, in any case, will be left largely to the industries which are to locate in the planned industrial park. The Redevelopment Agency will have only minimal control over the industries, even though it will provide them \$112,000 per acre in land cost subsidies.

The city won't get much in tax benefits, either. It will take five to seven years to collect enough just to pay off the \$526,000 bond issue which covered the city's share of project costs.

A mixed lot

The 60 families which now live on the project site are a mixed lot--carpenters and biologists, sales clerks and women receiving child care support, mechanics and retirees, post office workers and dancers. Many have been in Berkeley only a few years, but several have lived there for their entire lives.

Incomes are in the \$3,000 to \$6,000 range, and the median rent is about \$100, quite low in Berkeley's inflated housing market.

Those who were surveyed agreed that they want to stay where they are. They like the low rents, the convenience to jobs and the variety of the

neighborhood. And this is precisely what they would lose by being re-located.

It's not even certain that they would be able to find adequate housing elsewhere. The Redevelopment Agency says they can find it, but rents are staggeringly high in Berkeley, the vacancy rate is less than 1.5 per cent and 500 families are on the waiting list for public housing.

Alternate plan

The residents, working through the Ocean View Committee and the People's Architecture, have drawn up an alternate plan that would allow them to stay where they are.

It would allow industrial development in part of the area, but it would retain areas where housing and small businesses now are located.

Low-interest loans and rehabilitation grants would be offered to home owners; some new low and moderate income housing would be built; a community center, clinic, free school, crafts workshops and other neighborhood facilities would be created.

The plans, claims the Redevelopment Agency, are too late and too impractical, in part because the City Council and Planning Commission would have to act to permit such a major change in the project.

Agency duckling

This is a problem. But it could be solved, and the Redevelopment Agency seems to be using it merely as an excuse to duck the community demands.

The agency also claims that its surveys show that 80 per cent of the buildings in the project area are unsalvageable.

But studies by the People's Architecture staff show, in contrast, that most of the structures could be rehabilitated for \$5000 to \$7000.

In addition to proposing alternative plans, the residents' committee has threatened legal action to halt the Redevelopment Agency plan and give them a genuine voice in development of the area in which they live.

The agency has refused to relent, however. The residents, are looked down on, as "transients" and "renters," and "citizen participation" in the project has meant mainly that the citizens will be able to take part in the relocation process and possibly get some of the jobs to be created.

They have not been allowed to participate in any real way in the project's development, and most certainly have not been given any real control.

"We're not responsible to them," declared one member of the Redevelopment Agency's board. "We're responsible to the project.... We're not a charitable agency, not a welfare agency. We're in business. We're businessmen."

'Why don't you run anti-draft public service announcements?'

Guardian survey by Marilyn Morgan

The Guardian telephoned the radio and TV stations contacted by the anti-war coalition last December and asked for their responses to requests from the armed forces and draft alternative groups for public service air time. Here is what some of them had to say:

KABL--"If a peace group wished to apply for equal time I would be happy to send the request immediately to the owner in Dallas for an opinion," said Knowles Hall, general manager. (A July 1970 sample showed 55 20-second announcements for the Marine Corps.)

KCBS--Draft alternative spots and the fairness doctrine involve a legal question which would have to be submitted to their attorney, said Jerri Brady, public service department. (Eighty-seven spots in March 1969 for the armed services, 102 in April, 67 in May and 101 in June, most of them 60 seconds long.)

KDIA--"It isn't our policy not to (run recruitment messages) but other public service ads are of greater value regarding the specific needs of the community," said John Doubleday, general manager. He estimated the station ran six recruitment spots in the last six months at the very most.

KFRC--No recruitment spots but runs four 15-minute music programs a week offered by the armed services. Regarding draft alternative messages, Program Director Paul Drew said, if such a spot were "within the law" it would deserve consideration.

KPAT--Walt Jamond, program director, has been approached by peace groups but thought "it wasn't in the public interest" to run their spots. He estimated KPAT runs five 60-second recruitment spots a week.

KSAY--"We love to give publicity to the armed forces," says Gordon Woodward, program director, who would not run draft alternative messages. Estimated that five to 10 per cent of its 50 public service spots per day are recruiting messages.

KSFO--Chet Castleman, Director of News & Public Affairs, said the station holds that the fairness doctrine does not apply to draft alternative spots and has "grave doubts" whether it would be a public service to run them. (KSFO runs approximately 40 recruitment messages a month, generally 60 seconds.)

KGO--Would consider running draft alternative spots, but not under the fairness doctrine. Runs recruitment messages which the station considers non-controversial voluntary recruitment appeals which do not fall under the fairness doctrine or equal time provision.

KKHI--Managers explained that it is a strictly classical music station; its listeners are mostly over 35 and it did not want to disturb their serenity by raising controversial issues.

KNEW--No recruitment messages. Station runs locally-oriented public service spots, but Program Director Bill Stewart thought both recruitment and draft alternative spots are not locally-oriented.

KFOG--No messages, but General Manager Peter Taylor said the station would consider running spots for any organization with a local office and address.

KOFY--No messages. A Spanish language station that chooses public service material "according to its value to the audience," said General Manager F.T. Crennan. He was equivocal about running a draft alternative spot.

KYA and KOIT (KYA's FM station)--No messages, although Joyce Monroe, head of creative services, says "we have no stated policy on this for any group." She said the stations probably would run a draft alternative spot if it was purely informational and did not advocate breaking the law.

KNBR--Runs recruitment messages, but refused to say how many and said would refuse to give any public service air time to a draft alternative spot. "Recruitment messages are a service for our government," said Jane Morrison of the public service department.

KRON FM and TV--Also run recruitment messages and also refused to say how many. But General Manager A.H. Constant did declare they would run no draft alternative spots. "We don't feel any obligation under the FCC fairness doctrine to provide time for anti-draft groups to answer recruitment messages," he explained.

KTVU--Ian Zellick, assistant to the general manager and director of community affairs programming, feels dissent is covered well by the station's news and public affairs programs and would not run draft alternative spots. He estimated the station runs 10 to 15 minutes a week in recruitment messages.

KPIX--Bases its lack of draft alternative messages on an FCC ruling. Ann Hershey, public service coordinator, estimates that the station runs two to three minutes a week in recruitment messages.

KGO-TV--General Manager Don Curran would not run a draft alternative spot because he feels KGO gives adequate coverage on its regular programs. KGO runs an average of four recruitment messages a week of 30 and 60 seconds each.

KEMO--Operations Manager Chuck Olson suggested that "no anti stuff," would be aired, but refused to provide firm information without a written request. ("Just good business," he said. "We'd like to see your letterhead.")


KHBK--General Manager Bob Somerville said the station soon will begin running draft alternative announcements regularly. He estimated that the station runs three recruitment messages a week of 10, 30 and 60 seconds, but said the planned alternative spots are not based on the fairness doctrine. They would be part of regular public affairs programming.

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UP AGAINST THE MILITARY-COMMUNICATIONS COMPLEX

By Peter Barnes

The Pentagon has a long list of friends in the Northern California business community and, near the top, are the guardians of the public airwaves, the Bay Area radio and television stations.

I found this out during the course of a struggle over the meaning of the Fairness Doctrine, a struggle that turned into a legal battle that is now before a federal appeals court in Washington.

Our local broadcasters regularly come to the aid of the Pentagon by beaming to their audiences a barrage of military recruitment ads. These ads usually take the form of pre-recorded 60-second spots. At least one local station--KFRC--also broadcasts a series of full-length 15-minute programs sponsored by the armed service.

What's more, the broadcasters who run these military advertisements do so without charging the Pentagon a nickel. It's not as if the Defense Department, with its \$70 billion budget, can't afford to pay. The fact is that the Defense Department doesn't have to pay because radio and TV stations in the Bay Area and throughout the country happily broadcast the military's ads free of charge as a "public service" to their listeners.

Public service?

How much of a "public service" these advertisements really are is a highly debatable question, especially when a young man who heeds their message is likely to be sent to war in Indochina. The ads, however, don't mention Vietnam. They cleverly appeal to the subconscious yearnings of late male adolescents--the desire to "become a man," the itching to get away from home, the concern about learning a trade.

Each ad is professionally prepared by a top-flight Madison Avenue agency. For ex-

Resistance, the GI Association and San Francisco Women for Peace--asked all commercial Bay Area radio and television stations by letter to broadcast some advertisements that point out the legal alternatives to military service. Without exception, they flatly refused.

(Although KTVU-TV in Oakland did allow our attorney, Don Jelinek, to appear on a talk program and show the ad once.)

Most stations did not beat around the bush. "We do not believe that our audience would be enlightened or particularly benefitted by the broadcast of announcements such as you propose," Heber Smith, then general manager of KABL, wrote us.

The unanimous refusal was particularly interesting because we did not ask them to broadcast our ads as a favor. We feel the stations are required to broadcast our spots by law--specifically, by the Fairness Doctrine of the Federal Communication Commission. It states that, when a station presents one side of a controversial issue, it must provide a reasonable opportunity for the other side to be heard.

The Fairness Doctrine was developed by the FCC in 1949 and subsequently ratified by Congress and the Supreme Court. Its premise is simple: since broadcasters do not own the airwaves but merely are licensed to use them by the public, they cannot abuse their position of trust by propagandizing their personal viewpoints.

On the contrary, they have an affirmative duty to encourage the airing of all sides of controversial public issues. "It is this right on the part of the public to be informed," the FCC has stated, "rather than any right on the part of the Government, any broadcast licensee, or any individual member of the public to broadcast his own particular views on any matter,

Marine corps radio ad

Announcer: Young man...if you will be graduating from high school in the near future, you should know about an eight-week course that could be one of the biggest turning points in your life.

It's the eight weeks new Marines spend in Marine Corps basic training. Eight weeks that mold them in body, mind and spirit -- into men the Marine Corps is proud to call its own. And the Marine Corps is not the only one who is proud. You will be too.

In your proud uniform, you are a new man with muscles that respond instantly, a new self-confidence that will last the rest of your life. Now, you stand ready to handle any situation, overcome any obstacle, because Marine training has brought out the best in you.

The way for you to find out how you can become a part of this elite military organization is to ask a Marine. A good one to ask is your nearby Marine Corps representative. See him today.

ample, Army television ads produced by N.W. Ayer and Sons, portray a series of virile-looking young soldiers water-skiing and associating with bikini-clad women during their many hours of leisure at state-side Army posts.

Marine Corps radio spots, produced by J. Walter Thompson, feature catchy musical jingles and endorsements of the Marine Corps' manly virtues by such widely known personalities as Jack Webb, Jonathan Winters, Ed McMahon, Richie Guerin, Art Buchwald and former Illinois Sen. Paul Douglas.

Last December, a coalition of local anti-war groups--the

which is the foundation stone of the American system of broadcasting."

The Fairness Doctrine applies most conspicuously when stations broadcast a statement of editorial opinion. In such cases, they are required to make time available to spokesmen for differing viewpoints.

Not debatable

But the doctrine applies to everything a station broadcasts, from speeches by the President of the U.S. to advertisements for Marlboro cigarettes. In fact, the FCC specifically ruled in 1967 that stations broadcasting

60-second anti-recruiting TV spot

Opening shot of a man standing in front of a row of graves at the Presidio of San Francisco.

Man: It was my experience as a captain in Vietnam for one year that the senior officers are so concerned with furthering their own careers and furthering the Army as a whole, they have completely overlooked the tragic consequences of the war on their own men. An instructor told me in one of my West Point classes he thought the war was a good thing because it trained junior officers. I feel the Armed Forces have become morally corrupt inside.

Camera shifts to another man, kneeling in front of a gravestone. As he speaks, the camera backs away to catch sight of more and more graves.

Second Man: I was an enlisted man in Vietnam. I saw many men trying to be heroes, winning Bronze Stars and then ending up as tombstones, like those behind me, and yet not resolving the problems of what is basically a civil war, but slaughtering many innocent men, women and children.

Camera shifts to photographs of a ditch filled with blood-stained bodies of women and babies, and to other Vietnam war photographs as an announcer speaks.

Announcer: Chances are the Army will teach you how to kill. Chances are you'll wind up in Vietnam and perhaps get killed in a war that doesn't make sense. Remember this: You may be eligible for military deferment. For free information, call . . . You may live to be glad you did."

cigarette ads must also broadcast a reasonable number of ads urging people not to smoke.

In contacting the San Francisco stations, we argued that military service is a far more controversial issue than cigarette smoking--and it can be a lot more hazardous to your health. We didn't insist they stop running the Pentagon's recruitment ads. All we said was that, if they continued to broadcast their ads, they were obliged to broadcast some of ours. Let young men confronted with the dilemma of whether to serve in the military hear all sides of the issue, then let them decide for themselves.

The stations stuck to their guns. They made two basic arguments against us. First, they said, the Pentagon's ads are not controversial, and thus need not be rebutted. This may surprise the tens of thousands of Bay Area young men and their families who constantly debate the pros and cons of military service.

Second, several stations contended that, even if the issue of military service is controversial, both sides are adequately covered in regular news and talk shows. By this line of reasoning, one superficial news story about Dr. Spock or David Harris is supposed to balance off hundreds of slick Madison Avenue ads. Or perhaps the stations are saying that young people must take to the street every week to get their views presented with the same regularity as the Defense Department.

Confronted with a solid wall of opposition from Bay Area broadcasters, we filed a complaint with the FCC. In June, the Commission ruled in a 6-to-1 decision that the San Francisco stations had acted "reasonably" in denying our request. Therefore, it would not require them to broadcast our ads under the Fairness Doctrine.

The lone vote in our favor was cast by Commissioner Nicholas Johnson, who submitted a stinging 22-page dissent. "Today one branch of the federal government ignores the orderly complaints of its citizens and rules that another

branch of that same government, the U.S. Army, can propagandize without preserving for the young their First Amendment right to self-defense," Johnson wrote.

To our knowledge, no Bay Area radio or TV stations carried the story either of the FCC's decision or of Johnson's dissent. The Examiner and the Chronicle, which both have television and radio subsidiaries, ran short, almost meaningless stories.

We were of course disappointed, but we hadn't really expected the FCC to take our side. The Commission is chaired by Dean Burch, a highly conservative Republican who managed Barry Goldwater's campaign in 1964, and Johnson is its only strong public interest advocate.

Although in theory the FCC's job is to defend the public's interest in a robust presentation of all sides of sides of controversial issues, in practice its main concern seems to be to protect broadcasters against such inconveniences as losing their licenses. The Commission is widely known for exhibiting what Chief Justice Warren Burger once called "a curious neutrality-in-favor-of-the-licensor."

We were also well aware of the fact that Vice-President Agnew had been barnstorming the country and urging less, not more, criticism of government policies on the airwaves. Given the political climate, it didn't seem likely an arm of the Nixon/Agnew administration would go against the Pentagon and a complete metropolitan tableau of Pentagon-boosting broadcasters.

The case is now on appeal to the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals. The independent federal judiciary, we hope, will require San Francisco stations to do what they should have done voluntarily in the first place on news and fairness grounds--give Bay Area citizens the same access to the public airwaves that they so generously provide the Pentagon.



PG&E, STAUNCH DEFENDER OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

By Peter L. Petrakis

In early June of 1970, a group of Pit River Indians occupied a campground along the Pit River in Northern California that was controlled by Pacific Gas & Electric Company. The Indians were re-occupying a small part of ancestral lands which had been stolen from their tribe. They were trespassing, said PG&E.

The campground lies within a 3.5 million acre parcel of land spreading over parts of four counties that, according to the Federal Indian Claims Commission, was unlawfully occupied by white settlers who drove out the native Pit River Indians in the late 19th century.

After that, the Federal Government took over some of the land and, in 1923, granted PG&E a license to erect power plants along the Pit River.

The nominal license fee did not grant ownership to PG&E. But PG&E nevertheless has tried mightily to create the impression that it does own the sites. A typical part of its characteristic "public relations" approach to disputing the Indians' claim:

1. Having them arrested for "trespassing," in collusion with the sheriff, district attorney and justice of the peace of Shasta County.
2. Asking the publisher of Hearst's San Francisco Examiner to send a reporter to Redding to cover the story when it became clear the Indians were getting sympathetic treatment by other papers (the Hearst Corporation has large holdings in the area.)
3. Discovering a "tame" Indian, Ike Leaf, then writing a statement for him condemning the Indian militants, flying him to Redding on a company-chartered plane and arranging a press conference for him in the sheriff's office (invitations to the press sent out by a PG&E public relations man, who also presided over the meeting).

The owner?

Under white man's law, the existence of a license to occupy land is reasonable evidence. Why, then, didn't PG&E produce the government license to back up its assertions that it had a right to be on the Pit River? Why did it instead keep talking as if

it actually owned the disputed property?

The probable answer: To bring up the matter of licenses in such a dramatic story, the subject of intense public interest, would have exposed a cover story that PG&E and the other private utility companies have been fostering for more than 50 years.

This is that they are bastions of individual initiative, "taxpayers" carrying their own weight in society, competing under adverse circumstances with a government that intrudes unfairly in the domain of "private enterprise."

The plain fact is that the U.S. government set up the private power companies in the power business. PG&E, staunch defender of "private initiative:"

1. Has built its entire hydroelectric generating system on public lands and waterways under federal licenses which allow it to operate but own none of the power-generating sites.
2. Has captured the power generation of irrigation districts, water agencies and municipal, state and federal projects--representing a public investment of billions of dollars--and got power dirt cheap from the agencies and sold it back to the public at a large mark-up.
3. Has utilized a nuclear technology developed by the public at a cost of billions, uses nuclear fuel produced at expensive government plants by a publicly developed process that uses huge quantities of cheap public power, and has its nuclear power plants insured by the taxpayers because no private insurer will risk coverage.

River grab

It started in the early part of the century, when technological advances were making it possible to generate power at locations remote from marketing areas. Private power companies were grabbing up power sites on the nation's rivers, despite efforts by President Theodore Roosevelt and others to develop the sites in the public interest.

By 1920, the private power lobby turned the tide in Congress. It passed the Federal Water Power Act, which vested ownership of water power sites in the people but also created the Federal Power Commission with author-

ity to grant 50-year licenses to private and public utilities for power development on the nation's rivers. Only token charges were fixed for the use of the water, and public recapture of sites held by private power companies was made difficult.

Many licenses were issued to private power companies and public agencies over the next few years. So now, 50 years later, many licenses are due to expire. This means that 18 per cent of PG&E's hydroelectric capacity is subject to recapture by the public by 1975, and all of it by 2013.

To anticipate the license expirations, the Federal Power Commission in 1964 set up procedures to recapture or relicense power sites that made an already difficult recapture procedure even more difficult.

The FPC issued the original licenses on its own authority. But now it will send its recommendations to Congress for action, at least two years before a license expires. If Congress does not recommend recapture, a new license would be issued. The new procedure has been challenged, but not tested legally. So, for the present, a mere licensing arrangement has, through private power lobbying, been perverted into a virtual grant in perpetuity of public property to private corporations.

Over the past 70 years, several public agencies also have secured water and power rights on California rivers and, in 1913, Congress tried to keep private utilities from benefiting from this granting of public rights.

That came in the Raker Act, which prohibited the city of San Francisco from selling private utilities the power it developed on the Tuolumne River from the city's Hetch Hetchy project while operating under a Federal grant.

But when Congress passed the Federal Water Power Act in 1920, it buckled under severe pressures from utility lobbyists and deserted the public power principles of the Raker Act.

Under the Water Power Act, several irrigation districts and water agencies, as well as the State of California, are free to sell public power from public projects on public rivers to PG&E for resale to the public.

Water act

PG&E is making a killing off this public power, precisely the sort of thing the Raker Act was designed to prevent. Thus, PG&E exploits the public, not only through its own plants, built on the public domain under its own FPC licenses, but also by capturing the power generated by public agencies at plants built on the public domain under their FPC licenses or federal grants.

Historically, any time a

It captures power from private agencies, builds its dams on public rivers and exploits publicly developed nuclear research

public agency has wanted to dam a California stream, PG&E has followed a consistent pattern: Get the power into the PG&E system, or fight the project.

For example, PG&E and other private utilities fought the formation of the East Bay Municipal Utilities District in 1923. But PG&E and EBMUD have since worked out a cozy relationship.

Since EBMUD completed Pardee dam in 1928, PG&E has been getting all EBMUD power. EBMUD has never made even a gesture toward getting into the power business, even though the Municipal Utility District Act of 1921, which permitted the creation of EBMUD, authorized the district to go into the power, water and even the telephone business.

Two exceptions

Over the years, PG&E has captured every power-generating irrigation district and water agency in northern California, with the exception of two--the Turlock Irrigation District and the Modesto Irrigation District.

In 1952, PG&E commissioned an official 367-page company history, titled "PG&E of California: The Centennial Story of Pacific Gas and Electric Company, 1852-1952," written by C.M. Coleman. In it is found this pithy summation of PG&E's attitude toward public developments on the public rivers:

"Although the Company fought hard to preserve itself from government competition, it always willingly gave cooperation to worthy public water projects."

To PG&E, a "worthy public water project" is one in which the public surrenders its most lucrative product, electrical energy, to PG&E.

This, then, is the historic PG&E pattern:

1. Let a public agency build the most expensive parts of a hydroelectric project--the dams and canals--which PG&E would otherwise have to build and pay taxes on, then contract with that agency to deliver the falling water to the nearest PG&E power plant.
2. Or, better yet, let the public build hydro power plants too, then get the power into the PG&E system at low, fixed annual rates, under long-term exclusive contracts.
3. Make it clear to irrigationists and municipalities that PG&E will block public projects if the power contracts are not signed with PG&E.
4. All the while, wage vigorous publicity campaigns to convince the public that public water and energy from public water are logically and ideologically separable--that the public impoundment of water on a public river, and its distribution through public systems, is "a worthy public water project," while the distribution of the inevitable byproduct of the release of that public water--pub-

lic power--is the expression of an alien and subversive philosophy.

5. Pose as an altruist and argue that PG&E's piddling payments for this public power are helping irrigationists and municipalities to pay for their water projects, which could not otherwise be built.

6. Condition the public to ignore the fact that, if PG&E had exercised its self-celebrated "individual initiative" and built these projects for its power purposes, water users would still be getting the benefits from stored water that they now enjoy.

Today, 10 public agencies in California generate power for PG&E. Seven of them are under exclusive long-term contracts to PG&E, delivering all their electricity at low fixed annual fees to the company. One of them, the State Department of Water Resources, is under contract to deliver 56 per cent of the power generated at the \$500 million Oroville Dam to PG&E and the rest to Southern California Edison and San Diego Gas and Electric Co. until 1984. After that, all the power from Oroville Dam will go to PG&E.

Big profit

From all these public agencies, PG&E gets 10 per cent of the electricity it sells to the public. PG&E gets this power so cheap, and marks it up so high, that public power accounts for 25 per cent of the company's annual profits from electricity sales.

The Turlock and Modesto Irrigation Districts, the only two in California to do their own electrical retailing, charge 33 per cent less for electricity than PG&E does in the irrigation districts the company has captured. And the Turlock and Modesto Irrigation Districts pay for their projects without any "help" from PG&E, of course.

In reality, water at the tap and water power at the wall plug are merely different manifestations of the potential energy of water stored at high elevations. Yet, because of PG&E-generated confusion, citizens who would become enraged to learn that all the water behind a public dam had been diverted to a private corporation for resale to the public are not at all shocked to learn a private company is selling them their own electricity.

PG&E confuses the public at every turn. When PG&E builds a dam on a public river, it is called a "power dam," even though downstream water users may benefit from the resulting year-round water supply. When irrigationists, or municipalities, or the state or the federal government build a dam, PG&E propaganda conditions people to think of it as a "water supply," though electricity, in vast

How PG&E gets \$67 million of public power

D.L. Bell, PG&E's vice president and treasurer, recently put on a poor-mouth act for the State Public Utilities Commission. PG&E, he maintained, must be granted \$67 million more a year in electrical revenues so that it can "maintain its credit and financial standing" with major investors.

The Guardian examined PG&E's rate application exhibits and discovered that, although Bell hadn't said so, PG&E already gets a public subsidy of \$67 million worth of public power.

The \$67 million--\$67.4 million to be precise--is that part of PG&E's annual revenue which comes from its sale of public power. This is power generated at public facilities such as dams, sold to PG&E cheaply and then transmitted and sold to the public by the giant utility.

It is by far the most profitable phase of PG&E's extremely profitable operations.

PG&E's own exhibits show the company made an incredible after-tax profit of 22 per cent in 1969 from the power it generated itself. However, its profits from the public power sales were even greater--a staggering 54 per cent.

In dollar terms, that was a profit of \$138,357,000 on PG&E-generated power and \$36,482,000 on the public power sales.

That made total profits of \$175 million--a figure that would rise by \$40 million if PG&E is granted its plea for \$67 million more in revenue.

None of this would be passed on to the public agencies which have created huge tax-free capital investment and profit windfalls for PG&E. Their fees are fixed under long-term contracts.

RPRISE, IS THE BIGGEST WELFARE RECIPIENT

amounts, may be produced from it--for PG&E.

'Water' project

Today's multi-billion dollar California Water Project should be called a "power and water project," since an immense amount of electricity will result from the state's impounding of Feather River water behind Oroville dam.

But PG&E and the other private utilities aren't openly fighting this project, for the simple reason that they are getting all the electricity from the public water project's \$500 million Oroville facilities and selling it back to the public at exorbitant rates. That according to the classic PG&E line, makes it a "water plan."

The state Water Resources Department is more than a generator of power for private utilities. It also will buy power from them to help pump water through the California Aqueduct that will carry water from north to south in the California Water Project.

The Water Resources Department has contracted to sell the power output of Oroville Dam--3 billion kilowatt hours a year--to the private utilities for a low fixed annual fee of around \$20 million.

More money

The utilities, in turn, will sell this hydropower to the public during the peak daylight and early evening hours--and get an estimated \$42 million a year in revenue do for doing it.

Then to supply the Water Project with the power for its pumps, the utilities will turn around and deliver 10 billion kilowatt hours of their thermal power to the state during the off-peak hours. That will cost the state \$26 million a year.

The utilities will sell the pumping power to the state at cost, but they nonetheless will profit greatly from it. For it will enable them to keep their power plants running steadily and not just during the peak hours of general public demand, and thus avoid the heavy costs involved in shutting down and starting up steam generating plants.

There's an ecological aspect to this, too. Since the amount of water to be let out of the water project's Oroville reservoir will increase as Southern California's population grows, more water will pass through the powerhouses to generate electricity. And since the private utilities have contracted for all of the power from Oroville Dam, the more overcrowded Southern California becomes, the more PG&E and the others will profit.

Can't lose

Even if political opposition or legal injunction were to stop the badly conceived and possibly illegal California Water Project, the private utilities will come out on top.

Oroville Dam already is built, the contracts for power have been signed, and the utilities are getting Oroville power.

Should the Project be blocked, or even delayed, the state would be relieved of part of its responsibility to husband water at Oroville, and would be able to make larger water releases for power generation

to the private utilities.

If the Delta Peripheral Canal, last link between Oroville water and the California Aqueduct, is not built, political pressures will develop to find alternative sources of water to send south.

There would be a strong possibility that water would come from sea-water desalinization plants, operated by the private utilities.

PG&E and other coastal utility companies are moving fast to get into that field and, with the Department of Water Resources, are now studying desalinization in connection with thermal power generation, under an order from Gov. Reagan.

PG&E also has offered the U.S. Interior Department the use of its steam plants at Moss Landing and Morro Bay for experiments in desalinization in connection with power production.

Nuclear plants

Nuclear power plants are enormous heat producers, and studies by the Atomic Energy Commission show that this heat can be used to convert sea water.

When President Johnson announced this in 1964 and indicated that the government would enter that area, shock waves were set up in the private power industry. The industry's trade publication, *Electrical World*, saw an "insidious" threat. "The alternative," said *Electrical World*, "is for electric utilities to assume a responsible role in the supply of potable water."

In other words, the private power companies are planning to get into the water business. Thus, historic trends are demolishing PG&E's carefully contrived cover story that water projects are public business and power projects are private business. To maintain their monopoly, PG&E and other private power companies must now get into the water business, too.

A further advantage to private power companies is that seawater desalinization could be done during those off-peak hours when shutdowns are so expensive.

The implication for principled ecologist-conservationist foes of the Water Project is that they may be getting some covert, and unprincipled, support from the giant utility corporations of California.

Because of their strategic position in the economic life of the state and their enormous political power, the private utilities have been able to rig things so that, whatever the fate of the Water Project, the net result will be a public capital investment for their benefit.

Although Gov. Reagan has stopped the Upper Eel River Development, the study is continuing. This project on the north coast river has a direct relationship to the Oroville power contract with the private utilities, and is specifically mentioned in the contract.

Section B-8 of the contract provides that, after 1985, the Department of Water Resources can release, for power generation, an amount of water from Oroville Reservoir greater than that to be released from the Upper Eel River Development.

More water

The Upper Eel River Development would build a 700-foot-high dam at Dos Rios, in the Coast Range in Mendocino

County, about 20 miles north of Willits, and would create a vast reservoir that would drown 30-square-mile Round Valley with its Indian reservation and the town of Covelo, 30 miles upstream.

The plan for the Upper Eel River Development is to feed its water into the California Aqueduct at the Aqueduct's point of origin in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta and send it to Southern California.

This could relieve Oroville Reservoir of its role as "key conservation unit" of water for Southern California and allow the state to make greater releases of water through Oroville's powerhouses--not to meet water demands in the south, but to generate power for PG&E.

The development also could counteract conservationist opposition to the Delta Peripheral

Canal. By using water from the Eel River to supply Southern California, the Sacramento River can be permitted to flow at higher volume, flushing out the Delta and preventing stagnation in San Francisco Bay. This will mean maximum releases of water through the powerhouses at Oroville, for maximum generation of power for PG&E.

'... or else'

Politically, this would be the alternative presented to the public: "Let us build the Upper Eel River Development, or the Delta and San Francisco Bay will be destroyed by diminished flow of the Sacramento River."

PG&E will have maneuvered the state of California into building a hydropower facility for PG&E at Oroville whose generating potential nearly

equals that of all the PG&E dams in California, plus a new source of public power for PG&E at Dos Rios, plus an off-peak market for PG&E's thermal power.

Alternatively, if the Eel River is not developed, there will be a brand new product to be sold by PG&E--desalinized seawater for the California Aqueduct, generated at PG&E's nuclear power plants.

Steam plants

The key to the control PG&E and the other private utilities have over public water power projects in California, apart from their ability to buy politicians and dominate newspapers, is their monopoly on thermal electric generating plants.

Hydro power, which is all PG&E permits the public to generate--Continued on page 14

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PG&E - SQUATTER ON

PG&E plants on public rivers

California's rivers belong to all of us — and so do the sites where dams are built and electrical power is generated. But who occupies many of the sites, generates power and sells it to us? PG&E and other private utilities.

The utilities don't even pay much for this lucrative privilege. They operate under federal licenses which are granted for a nominal fee and are good for 50 years.

After the licenses expire, the public could take back the power generating sites—but only theoretically, thanks to private utility pressure on the Federal Power Commission that has subverted temporary licenses into grants in perpetuity.

Private utility holdings straddle almost all California rivers, as this map shows. The dates listed are the expiration dates of all 19 licenses held by PG&E and some held by Southern California Edison.

1 HUMBOLDT BAY PG&E nuclear power plant, first of many contemplated by PG&E and other private companies along the California coast. These plants utilize fuel manufactured in government plants, and a technology developed by publicly financed research at a cost of billions. Public also insures these plants, because no private insurance carrier will take the risk.

2 MC CLOUD AND PIT RIVERS Installed capacity: 656,000 kw. Oct. 23, 1973. July 31, 2011.

3 PIT RIVER INDIAN LANDS The government grabbed 3.5 million acres in Siskiyou, Modoc, Shasta and Lassen Counties from the Pit River Indians between 1854 and 1890. In June, Pit River Indians reclaimed their

land and PG&E arrested them for "trespassing" on PG&E-operated campground.

Arresting agents never asked PG&E to produce proof of ownership, and PG&E has never produced it. Fact: PG&E does not own the land; the federal government does and PG&E operates its Pit River powerplants on a federal license that expires Oct. 23, 1973.

License is now subject to capture by public agencies. If not captured, PG&E's license will be renewed for another 50 years.

4 NORTH FORK FEATHER RIVER Installed capacity: 628,000 kw. Sept. 30, 1982. Sept. 30, 2003. Oct. 31, 2004.

5 BUCKS CREEK Installed capacity: 52,500 kw. Dec. 31, 1968.

6 EEL RIVER Installed capacity: 52,500 kw. Dec. 31, 1968.

7 YUBA RIVER, NORTH FORK YUBA RIVER, SOUTH FORK YUBA RIVER, BEAR RIVER AND NORTH FORK AMERICAN RIVER

Installed capacity: 139,000 kw. April 22, 1973. July 1, 1991. April 30, 2013.

8 BODEGA BAY Area set aside for a state park was grabbed by PG&E for a nuclear power plant. Bitter public opposition arose. Application withdrawn when it was revealed that plant would be within one mile of the San Andreas earthquake fault.

9 ARENA COVE Proposed PG&E nuclear power plant.

10 MOKELUMNE RIVER Installed capacity: 190,000 kw. Nov. 23, 1975.

11 STANISLAUS RIVER Installed capacity: 119,000 kw. Dec. 31, 2004.

12 LEE VINING CREEK (Southern California Edison) installed capacity: 10,360 kw. Nov. 30, 1986.

13 SAN JOAQUIN RIVER Installed capacity: 63,000 kw. Dec. 1, 1972. April 30, 1989.

14 SAN JOAQUIN RIVER Installed capacity: 33,000 kw. Feb. 11, 1973.

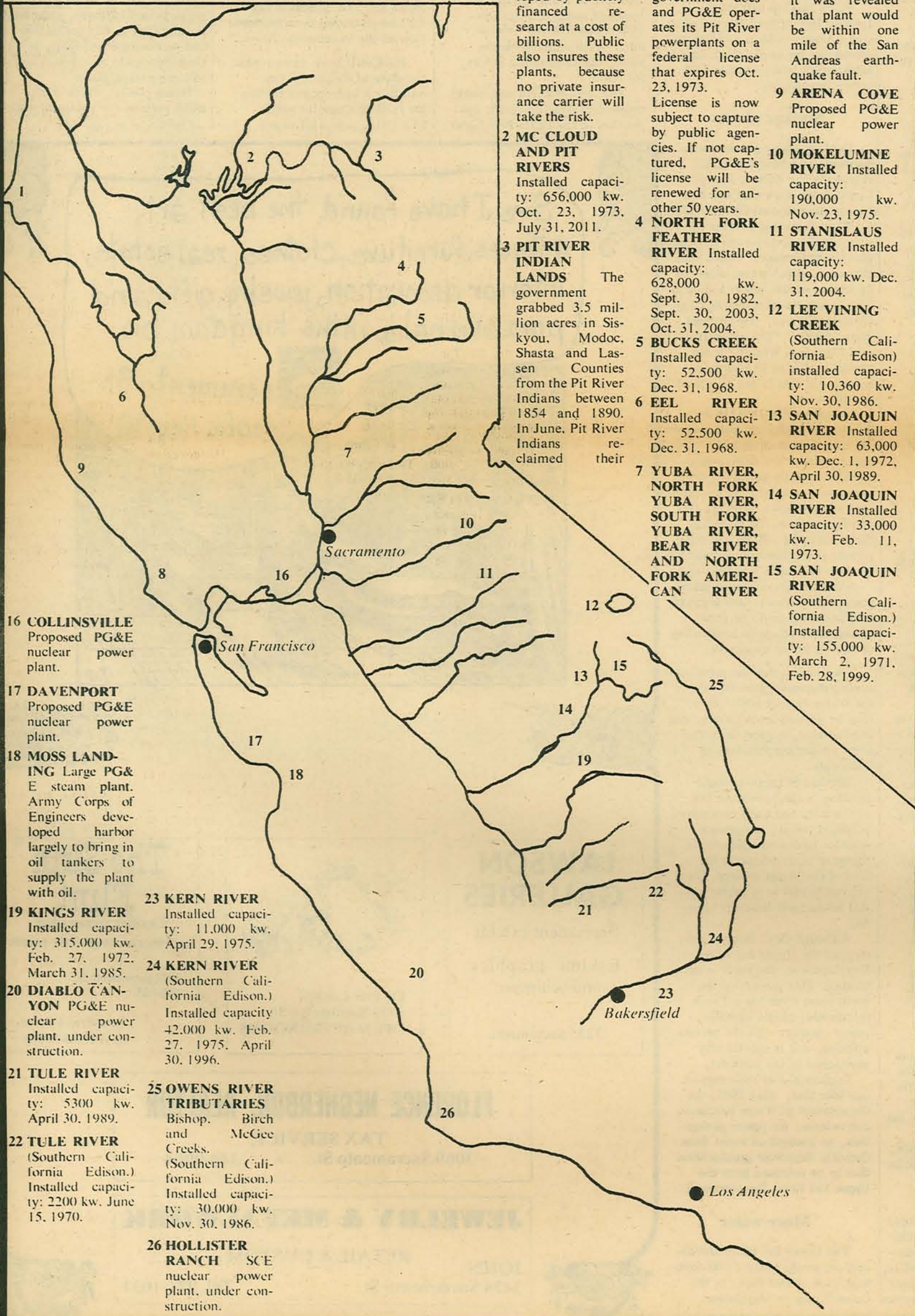
15 SAN JOAQUIN RIVER (Southern California Edison.) Installed capacity: 155,000 kw. March 2, 1971. Feb. 28, 1999.

PG&E, that grand old champion. Let the Public Build Them. The houses which generate power, the it to us.

This map shows the public power which it sells at exorbitant power which PG&E sells, but i annual power profit of \$175 million.

PG&E already has captured t gation districts, two county water and the California Water Project the Bonneville Power Authority.

But wait till 1984. By then, P output of the state's huge \$500 million



- Sources:
- PG&E rate application, 11970
 - PG&E annual reports to the state PUC
 - Bonneville Power Authority
 - U.S. Army Corps of Engineers
 - U.S. Bureau of Reclamation
 - California Department of Water Resources
 - California Irrigation Districts Association
 - San Francisco's Hetch Hetchy Annual Report
 - California Power Users Association
 - PG&E promotional brochures
 - Federal Power Commission

TOTAL INSTALL
PG&E hydro plants: 2
Pg&E-captured public
2,497,000 kilowatts

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

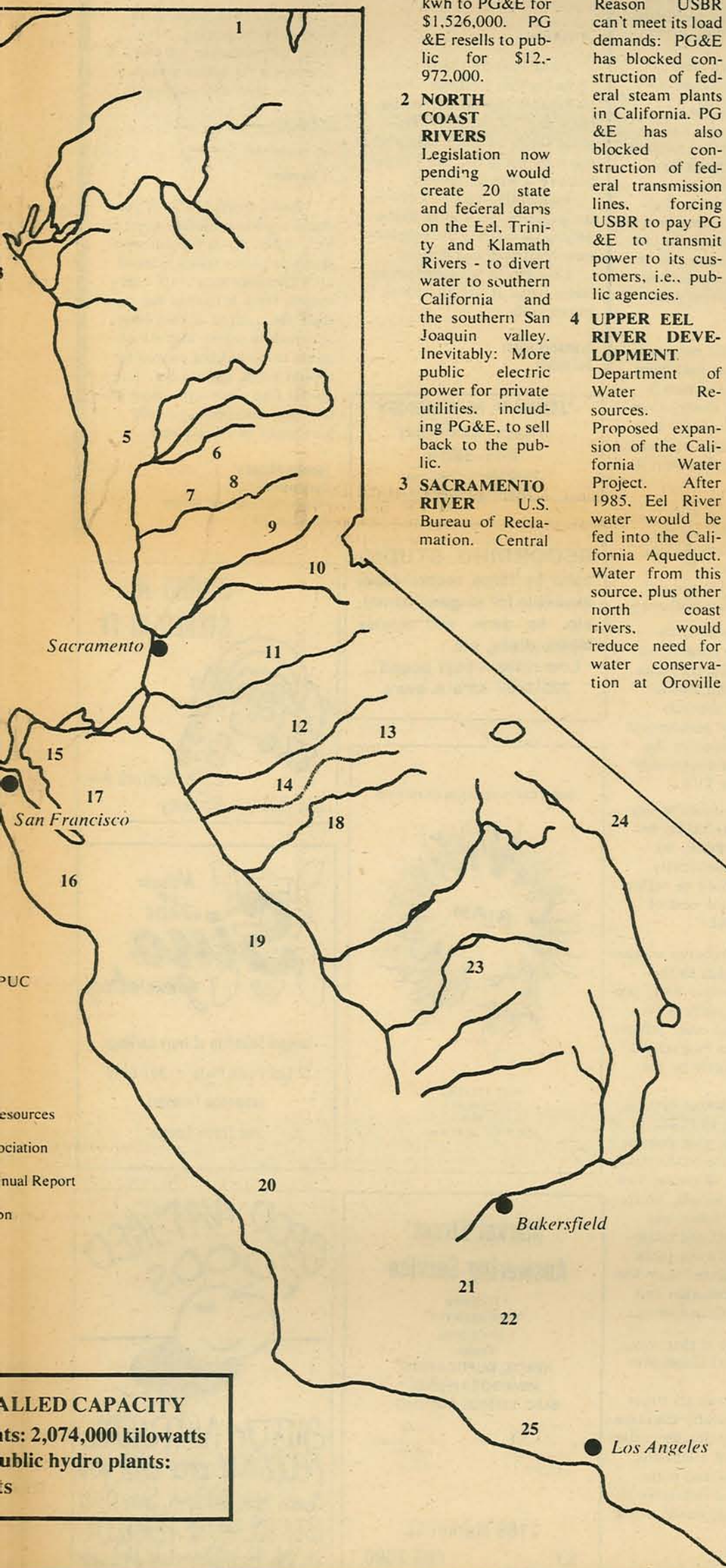
PG&E'S captive public power agencies

Champion of free enterprise, has a new motto: "That is, let us build the dams and power-plant, then let PG&E grab the power and resell it."

Public facilities PG&E uses to get dirt-cheap power at orbitant rates. (It is only 10 percent of the cost but it accounts for 25 percent of PG&E's revenue.)

PG&E has secured the public power generation of five irrigation water agencies, a municipal utilities district and a water project. It also gets cheap federal power from the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation.

When PG&E will be getting the entire power from the \$500 million Oroville Dam.



1 COLUMBIA RIVER

Bonneville Power Authority Federal power sold to PG&E. SCE, SDG&E, Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, Central Valleys Project and State Department of Water Resources. BPA sells 763,000,000 kwh to PG&E for \$1,526,000. PG&E resells to public for \$12,972,000.

2 NORTH COAST RIVERS

Legislation now pending would create 20 state and federal dams on the Eel, Trinity and Klamath Rivers - to divert water to southern California and the southern San Joaquin valley. Inevitably: More public electric power for private utilities, including PG&E, to sell back to the public.

3 SACRAMENTO RIVER

U.S. Bureau of Reclamation. Central

Valleys Project. PG&E gets surplus power from USBR's power plants on Sacramento, Trinity and American River watersheds, uses it to meet peak demands. Sells thermal power to USBR when USBR can not meet its load demands. Reason USBR can't meet its load demands: PG&E has blocked construction of federal steam plants in California. PG&E has also blocked construction of federal transmission lines, forcing USBR to pay PG&E to transmit power to its customers, i.e., public agencies.

4 UPPER EEL RIVER DEVELOPMENT

Department of Water Resources. Proposed expansion of the California Water Project. After 1985, Eel River water would be fed into the California Aqueduct. Water from this source, plus other north coast rivers, would reduce need for water conservation at Oroville

Reservoir on the Feather River, permitting greater water releases for power generation at Oroville dam on demand by PG&E.

5 FEATHER RIVER

California State Department of Water Resources. Sells 2,846,000,000 kwh to PG&E, SCE, SDG&E for \$16,000,000. Companies resell to public for \$48,382,000. After 1984, all Oroville Dam power will go to PG&E. Jan. 31, 2007.

6 SOUTH FORK FEATHER RIVER

Oroville-Wyandotte Irrigation Districts. Sell 386,000,000 kwh to PG&E for \$3,488,000. PG&E resells to public for \$6,562,000. Mar. 31, 2009.

7 YUBA RIVER

Yuba County Water Agency. Sells 89,000,000 kwh to PG&E for \$240,000. PG&E resells to public for \$1,513,000. April 30, 2013.

8 YUBA RIVER

Nevada Irrigation District. Sells 350,000,000 kwh to PG&E for \$1,577,000. PG&E resells to public for \$5,950,000 April 30, 2013.

9 MIDDLE FORK AMERICAN RIVER

Placer County Water Agency.

Sells 839,000,000 kwh to PG&E for \$5,225,000. PG&E resells to public for \$14,263,000. Feb. 28, 2013.

10 SOUTH FORK AMERICAN RIVER

Sacramento Municipal Utility District. PG&E gets peaking power from SMUD's hydroelectric plants, sells thermal power to SMUD to supply district's base load. PG&E will get thermal power from SMUD's nuclear power plant at Rancho Seco, now under construction. July 31, 2007, March 31, 2007.

11 MOKELUMNE RIVER

East Bay Municipal Utilities District. Sells 90,000,000 kwh to PG&E for \$487,000. PG&E resells to public for \$1,530,000. Power rights granted to EBMUD in 1925, in perpetuity, by special act of Congress.

12 STANISLAUS RIVER

Oakdale-South San Joaquin Irrigation Districts. Sell 374,000,000 kwh to PG&E for \$2,542,000. PG&E resells to public for \$6,358,000. Dec. 31, 2004.

13 TUOLUMNE RIVER

San Francisco Hetch Hetchy water and power projects. Congress in 1913 grants unprecedented rights to San Francisco to dam Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park for water and power development. Purpose: Public water and power for San Francisco through publicly owned distribution systems. Sale to private utilities expressly prohibited. For 15 years, SF openly sold power to PG&E for resale to the public, in violation of the Raker Act. SF also sells power wholesale to Turlock and Modesto Irrigation Districts, which then retail it to their residents over public systems.

14 TUOLUMNE RIVER

Turlock and Modesto Irrigation Districts. Don Pedro Dam and reservoir. Power and water

for districts' residents over publicly owned systems. San Francisco paid for half the cost of Don Pedro dam, but let the districts have all the power. SF has enough trouble getting rid of its Hetch Hetchy power to preserve PG&E's illegal monopoly in the city, without adding Don Pedro power.

15 UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

A preference customer for the federal Central Valleys Project. The Berkeley campus could save \$5 million in 10 years by buying cheap CVP power instead of expensive PG&E power, a 1963 study showed. But PG&E refuses to wheel the CVP power to Berkeley, in violation of congressional power policy, and Cal Regents refuse to buck PG&E.

16 SANTA CLARA

Headquarters of Northern California Power Agency, a group of 11 public power cities in Northern California - Santa Clara, Palo Alto, Lodi, Lompoc, Ukiah, Healdsburg, Gridley, Biggs, Roseville, Alameda and Redding. PG&E is trying to drive them out of the public power business by refusing to wheel cheap federal power to them from the Central Valleys Project and lobbying against them in Sacramento and Washington.

17 NEWARK

End of the line for San Francisco's Hetch Hetchy power. There it passes through a PG&E tollgate and into PG&E's system. PG&E transmits it 35-50 miles to supply SF municipal services (22%) and out-of-town industrial users (38%) assigned to city by PG&E as a dumping ground to keep SF from selling its own power to its own residences and businesses. PG&E's annual wheeling charge to SF: \$2,000,000. SF's annual loss of revenue: \$30,000,000.

18 MERCED RIVER

Merced Irrigation District. Sells 345,000,000 kwh to PG&E for \$1,937,000. PG&E resells to public for \$5,865,000. June 9, 1974, Feb. 28, 2014.

19 CALIFORNIA AQUEDUCT

San Luis Dam and power plant. Built jointly by State Department of Water Resources and U.S. Bureau of Reclamation. Power for water project pumps, surplus to PG&E, SCE and SDG&E. Supplemental power will be purchased from private companies, including PG&E.

20 San Luis Obispo

power plant. Water flow from northern California will generate power for water project pumps.

21 Pyramid Power

Plant. Water flow from northern California will generate power for SCE, Los Angeles, and Water Project pumps. Being built jointly by SCE and LA Dept. of Water and Power.

22 Castaic power

plant. Built jointly by State Department of Water Resources and City of Los Angeles. Power for water project pumps and Los Angeles Department of Water and Power.

23 OWENS RIVER

(Los Angeles Department of Water and Power) Water and power rights granted to City of Los Angeles by a special act of Congress.

24 KINGS RIVER

Army Corps of Engineers, Pine Flat Dam. Federal government built a large dam, reservoir and powerhouse, but did not install generators. Instead, PG&E power plant downstream exploits water drop created by Pine Flat Dam.

25 CORRAL CANYON

Proposed Los Angeles Dept. Water and Power nuclear power plant.

ALLED CAPACITY
nts: 2,074,000 kilowatts
public hydro plants:

PG&E — PART OF THE WELFARE STATE

—Continued from page 11

erate is variable. It fluctuates daily and seasonally, as well as from year to year, depending on annual precipitation. Therefore, to make it salable for modern power demands, which are comparatively steady, it must be firmed by thermal power.

Since private companies have a monopoly on steam plants in California, it gives them enormous coercive powers over public agencies in disposing of public power. The companies tell the public in effect, "You will sell your power to us, and on our terms, or you won't sell it at all."

In 1941, when the Bureau of Reclamation first asked Congress for funds to construct a steam electric plant at Antioch to firm the power from Shasta dam, and build transmission lines down the Sacramento valley, the result was a parade of PG&E executives, lobbyists and attorneys that has never stopped. Result: The Central Valleys Project still has no steam plants, the federal project still is at the mercy of PG&E.

The California Water Project was originally designed to include a stateowned nuclear power plant, which together with the hydro power, would have made the project independent of outside sources of power to operate its pumps. The plant has not yet been authorized, though any observer of the private utilities in action knows that is intended to mean forever. Result: The private utilities will get \$39 million from Water Project power, plus an additional \$26 million payment for power from the Project itself, plus more economical performance of their steam plants and therefore greater profits.

More recently, PG&E blocked legislation which would have given the Northern California Power Agency, an association of 11 small municipal power cities, authority to jointly finance and construct a thermal power plant to serve their growing power demands. The bill had been passed by the State Senate, 21 to 4. Originally scheduled for the Assembly Local Government Committee, where proponents thought their bill had a chance, PG&E lobbyists got the bill switched at the last minute to the heavily pro-private utility Commerce and Public Utilities Committee by Assembly Speaker Robert T. Monagan (R-Tracy).

Observers on the scene saw evidence that the private power lobby had done an advance job on the committee members. The lobbyists were well represented in the audience. Assemblyman Kent Stacy of Kern County wryly asked the bill's author, Sen. Fred Marler of Shasta County, how he felt about changing the bill to add a provision to tax all publicly-owned utilities, "as private utilities

are." He was referring, of course, to the private utilities' pet project, the Bagley bill to tax public power cities, AB 908, recently withdrawn for the time being by its nominal author, William T. Bagley.

The committee, made up entirely of southern California conservatives, and headed by Robert Badham of Orange County, did not give the northern California cities a single vote.

Having fought successfully for decades to keep the United States government and the government of California from building steam plants in the state, the private utilities are not about to let 11 little cities do it.

The cities' desperate search for new power sources is based on the fact that the Central Valleys Project cannot supply additional power to its preferred customers (public power cities) after 1980. In 1967, PG&E forced the Bureau of Reclamation into an agreement that prevents the Bureau from accepting new preference customers or any new source of supply without the consent of PG&E and limits the amount of power CVP can supply to its existing preference customers to their estimated 1980 requirements.

The leverage PG&E used to get this lopsided agreement out of CVP was its monopoly on steam plants, on which the CVP is forced to rely for firming and making salable its Shasta hydro power. The multi-billion dollar federal CVP, and the preferred customers that are eligible to receive its power, are securely in PG&E's vest pocket, barring future lawsuits for anti-trust violations.

The Federal Power Commission has retained jurisdiction to modify the 1967 PG&E-CVP agreement, but little hope lies in that direction: The chairman of the FPC is pro-private utility, and a vice-president of the Arizona Public Service Company is about to be appointed head of the FPC Bureau of Power (he will also continue on the company payroll).

Meanwhile, PG&E continues to encircle the 11 cities. During recent hearings before Sen. Philip Hart's Anti-Trust and Monopoly Subcommittee, R.W. Cowden, NCPA secretary, disclosed that PG&E has 1) refused to wheel public power to NCPA cities, 2) grabbed up all potential sources of non-PG&E power that the cities could use, including public power from irrigation districts and water agencies, surplus power from the Sacramento Municipal Utility District's Rancho Seco nuclear power plant under construction, also Union Oil's geothermal steam fields, 3) refused to join with the cities to construct power plants 4) sponsored the Bagley bill, 5) opposed legislation permitting cities whose charters are

silent on the matter to issue revenue bonds for public electric systems, 6) had the NCPA banned from membership in regional utility councils. To this list must now be added PG&E's maneuvers to block the HUD loan, and the lobbying effort to block the cities from building their own thermal power plants.

PG&E's obvious intention is to put the 11 public power cities out of business and consolidate its historic theft of the public domain.

Suggestion to NCPA: Move to recapture some PG&E licenses coming up for expiration in the next few years, under provisions of the Water Power Act of 1920.

And PG&E has even more ambitious plans for the future—a future of nuclear power.

PG&E already has one nuclear power plant at Humboldt Bay near Eureka, and another nearing completion at Diablo Canyon near San Luis Obispo. Several more are being planned. In late September, PG&E announced it will purchase a quarter billion dollars worth of uranium fuel in 1971.

The company will buy crude, un-enriched uranium fuel from mining companies and turn it over to the Atomic Energy Commission, which will purify it to increase the proportion of fissionable uranium-235, then turn it back to PG&E.

The enrichment process is carried out at three AEC plants, including those at Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Paducah, Ky., that are in the service area of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

According to the FPC, industrial TVA power costs about half as much as PG&E and other private power. So the cost to PG&E for having its uranium fuel prepared by the government will be greatly reduced by the government's use of cheap federal power from the TVA.

If the government had to buy power from a private utility to enrich uranium for PG&E, its power bills would practically double, and this would be reflected substantially in the cost of nuclear fuel for PG&E.

Thus PG&E will receive another indirect public subsidy in the form of cheaper nuclear fuel, processed with cheap public TVA power that PG&E and other private utilities condemn as "socialistic" when it is used directly by the public.

It will be just another typical chapter in the story of PG&E, a huge public parasite that dominates the political life of the state, compels the public to create vast public works in its behalf, usurps the public's lands, rivers and technology, buys off and intimidates the press and even picks the men who "regulate" it on the state Utilities Commission and the Federal Power Commission.

PG&E doesn't see it that way, however. Its official biographer writes:

"PG&E's position at all times has remained essentially the same—that of a staunch defender against political invasion of a business successfully created and maintained by individual initiative and developed according to the needs of a growing state."

LETTERS

To the editor:

I think it is very important for San Franciscans to recognize that the Bay Guardian has been a major hero in the struggle over the U.S. Steel atrocity on the Waterfront.

You have been blasting heavily away at that outrage for many months now, and have alerted many, many people to it, just as you have done on so many other things.

The Guardian is must reading for anyone who wants ethical, independent and concerned reporting on what the power brokers are up to.

ANDY GOLLAN
S.F. Progress

To the editor:

I was attracted to the Nicholas Von Hoffman article: Newspaper Monopolies on the back page of the KPFA Program Guide. I knew things like this were going on, but I didn't believe it was so blatant.

Incidentally, do you have extra pages of the Von Hoffman Article for mailing to Congressmen Mailliard and Burton?

I believe it is important to throw barbs at Congressional impropriety.

S. WARREN BUREL
San Rafael

To the editor:

My congratulations to Helene Lippincott for the superb job she did in breaking the supermarket codes.

I tried to do this some years ago when researching The Vulnerable Americans, but, despite the help of an ex-Safeway butcher and others, ended up more confused than when I started. Which led me to the conclusion that the average clerk wouldn't have the time or inclination to figure out and remember the differing systems—therefore would most likely leave items on the shelf until they obviously turned bad or were sold.

An excellent piece of investigative reporting. Like many of your other articles, it deserves a far better award than the press club can give.

CURT GENTRY, S.F.

To the editor:

Would appreciate it if you could send me another copy of Vol. 4 No. 5, as the one you sent was pretty much marked up with interesting staff comments. From a look at the other stuff you carried in that issue, it certainly seems that we are going to be calling on you for reprint rights quite a bit. Keep up the fine work—you may have the most consumer-minded newspaper in the country.

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Consumers Union
Publisher of Consumer's Reports
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Reaction to the Guardian's ouster from the S.F. Press Club's Pulitzer of the West contest

Kenneth Stewart, emeritus professor of journalism at the University of California at Berkeley, and Jerry Werthimer, professor of journalism at San Francisco State College, resigned in protest as Pulitzer judges over the Guardian's ouster from the San Francisco Press Club contest.

Here are some other reactions, including letters sent to the club; the directors; Stanton Delaplane, club president; and Larry McDonnell, PG&E's top public relations man and chairman of the club's awards committee. No letters of protest or resignation were acknowledged or answered by the directors.



Rally round PG&E, boys!

Larry McDonnell, PG&E's top public relations man and chairman of the SF Press Club's newspaper awards committee, at the podium at the Sept. 25 Gang Dinner. McDonnell announced the Pulitzer of the West awards, made the presentations and shook the hand of each Pulitzer winner. Listening attentively to McDonnell at the top speaker's table, left to right, are: Dave Shutz (Managing Editor, Redwood City Tribune); Wyman Riley (Managing Editor, Vallejo Times Herald); Dean Leshner (Publisher, Leshner Newspapers, Contra Costa Times, Concord Transcript); Jeff Grigsby (UPI News Editor); Chilton Bush (Prof. Emeritus, Stanford Communications Dept., Stanford University); Paul Finch (Bureau Chief, AP); Bottom row, left to right, are: Steve Still (Managing Editor, Oakland Tribune); Dr. John Barr Tompkins, (Head of Public Service, Bancroft Library who made the Edmund Coblenz awards); Peter Arnett (AP Correspondent, banquet speaker); George Brown (General Mgr., Press Club); Larry McDonnell (at podium); Dick Alexander (partial view, SF Examiner reporter, club first vice-president). Not shown at the head tables are Gordon Pates, Chronicle managing editor, and Howard Freeman, a San Francisco advertising man who served as master of ceremonies.

Dear Larry,

This note is an appeal to you to suppress your disgust at the disgusting charges of the Bay Guardian concerning your personal and professional integrity. I believe the Awards Committee should play Caesar's wife and find a way to allow Brugmann to compete, possibly in a "non-weeklies" category that would include the dailies, possibly in a new "periodicals" category that would include San Francisco Magazine, California Living, Rolling Stone and articles for national publications by local journalists.

I am writing not as a reporter for The Examiner nor as a journalism teacher at San Francisco State College but as a non-member of the Press Club who cherishes the awards he has received, both as a high school student in 1951 and as a professional newsman in recent years.

I have further credentials: The same issue of the Bay Guardian which offered a paranoid paroxysm about the Press Club also included a false accusation concerning my own honesty in covering the KRON-TV hearings--with Charles Raudebaugh of The Chronicle, I was accused of distorting, suppressing and slanting my news stories with a deliberate intention of somehow assisting the strategy of the KRON lawyers.

It was a stupidly written hatchet job which will be believed, unfortunately, by a large number of those otherwise well-meaning innocents who mistake sincerity for competence, bombast for truth and rhetoric for reality. The old Big Lie. It works.

Because the Press Club is more than a social organization with a swimming pool, it must judge the Brugmann complaint solely on the principles, not the personalities which involve freedom of the press. To do otherwise is to damage severely the credibility of the club among those outsiders, including myself, who hate to see the club appear to behave on the same unprincipled level as Bruce B. Brugmann, the crybaby editor specializing in cheap crusades and undeserved martyrdom games.

Lynn Ludlow
Examiner reporter

The author (Stephen R. Barnett, acting professor of law at the University of California) replies: "Mr. Ludlow does not even attempt to show that anything in my story was inaccurate. His letter is pure invective, and it speaks for itself."

To the Press Club:

When I agreed once more to become a judge in the forthcoming newspaper awards competition, I was not fully aware of the implications of the new rule that effectively eliminates any entries by Bruce Brugmann and his San Francisco Bay Guardian.

I would not be true to the memory of the newspaper PM, on which I spent my happiest newspaper days, if I did not ask that my name be withdrawn from the list of judges in the contest. Thanks for the invitation for dinner and drinks but I shall not be with you on September 9.

Kenneth N. Stewart
(Professor emeritus in journalism, University of California)

To the Press Club:

As a member of the Press Club and first place winner in last year's Best News Story competition (plus another Press Club award in 1965) I protest and request an explanation... Brugmann has supplied powerful circumstantial evidence that this change in the rules... was in fact engineered by executives of corporations whose activities were exposed by Brugmann's scholarly muckraking... If there is some explanation other than Brugmann's, I'd like to know what it is.

Fred Garretson
Oakland Tribune

To the Press Club:

As a participant in three weekly newspapers over the past 20 years, I join Bruce Brugmann in his protest against the new definition for entry categories in the annual newspaper contest.

It seems obvious the lines were drawn specifically to ex-

clude the Guardian. For by most criteria, the Guardian looks like a newspaper, reads like a newspaper, and indeed sounds more like a newspaper than many of such products published hereabouts.

Certainly, the Press Club's own record over the past years is good evidence that the Guardian was considered a newspaper until the PR-types decided it wasn't.

I can understand why PG&E doesn't want the Guardian in any contest; I cannot understand why the Club as a whole could accept the utility's rationalization.

Joseph C. Houghteling
Publisher, Los Gatos-Saratoga Times Observer

Mort Levine, publisher of the San Jose Sun newspapers and Milpitas Post, wrote a column titled "Scratch one press contest." Excerpts:

"In the past two years, the Bay Guardian, a crusading monthly tabloid published in San Francisco, has swept the awards in the non-daily classifications. And they deserved each one they won. And we can say that because we came in second.

"The Guardian isn't hampered by the conventionalities of dependence on advertising revenue and the currying of a local geographic base of support. And it has a missionary zeal that attracts outstanding writers seeking a platform.

"The Guardian stories showed bold enterprise, dramatic flair in word and layout. They also nailed a number of the state's biggest pelts to the wall. PG&E, PT&T, SP, the big San Francisco

newspaper-TV combine, etc. all receive a good monthly rake in the muck.

"But, even the judges (picked from business, industry and retired journalist ranks) agreed these were stories that deserved prizes.

"This year, to save judges from sleepless nights and conscience pangs, Press Club directors decided to change the rules... the judges won't have to contend with the problem of pinning a prize on a story which has been an embarrassment to a major private economic interest.

"The announced reason for the rule change was to encourage more weeklies to enter. A strange bit of logic.

"Bruce Brugmann, the burly driver who has kept the Bay Guardian afloat and on course, hasn't lost any sleep himself about the exclusion from the contest. He's been kicked out of better places than the SF Press Club, we're sure.

"The surprising thing is that the Press Club (as dominated as it is by public relations types) ever did permit the Guardian to win any awards in the first place.

"But it is pretty clear that the loser in all this is the press itself which hasn't much of a record on self-analysis and self-criticism. The standards set by really significant prize competitions help set goals for those working in the news field.

"Evidently, the Press Club contests can now be dropped from that tiny group of contests that really mean anything."

These remarks come from a Sept. 29 speech by Vic Reinemer, Senator Metcalf's executive secretary and co-author with Metcalf of "Overcharge," a

book on utilities, at the Western States Water and Power Consumers Conference in Salt Lake City.

The President, Vice-President, the Attorney General and his wife are all absolutely correct when they talk about the breakdown of law and order in this country. Their only fault is that they understate the case...

Several of us could provide the President with a real blockbuster for release from the Western White House, about the Raker Act of 1912, a federal statute which required construction of a municipal power system in San Francisco and forever prohibited any corporation from selling or subletting the water and electrical energy from Hetch Hetchy Dam.

If the Administration took law and order seriously, the President would pin the Cop-of-the-Month Award on Bruce Brugmann, editor of the Bay Guardian, a San Francisco weekly. Brugmann and two of his detectives, Neilands and Petrakis, have developed an air-tight case that Pacific Gas & Electric stole Hetch Hetchy's power from the City of San Francisco.

But alas, all the Guardian has received so far is a blackball from the San Francisco Press Club's annual awards committee, which is headed by one of P.G. & E.'s ombudsmen.

The P.G. & E. man is very soft on law and order. He packed the Press Club committee with "radicals"--to use Mr. Agnew's phrase--from

—Continued on page 18



BE WITH SWAMI MUKTANANDA

Chanting and Introduction by BABA RAM DASS

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FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH, Geary and Franklin, FRI., Oct. 23
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KENNETH REXROTH

Keep your nose clean, don't volunteer and stay alive through Armageddon

I have just read "Soledad Brother, The Prison Letters of George Jackson," whose brother Jonathan Peter Jackson staged the shoot-out in the Marin County Courthouse in an attempt to capture hostages for the release of his brother and his comrades at Soledad.

This is certainly one of the best books about prison life ever written and very revelatory. It is illuminating to compare it with Alexander Berkman's "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist."

Berkman, a white man convicted for attempted assassination of the steel baron Frick, was imprisoned in Western Pennsylvania Penitentiary for 11 years before World War I. It was then one of the most barbarous penal institutions in the country.

Prison discrimination

This savage, benighted, penitentiary does not compare with the treatment of a black youth held in California's enlightened, progressive, penological institutions. Anyone who does not believe there is vicious discrimination against black prisoners has only to read this book.

Since they are real letters to his parents, his brother, his lawyers, a couple of girl friends he knew as a boy, and, toward the end, to Angela Davis, they tend to play down or pass over the horrors of prison life, but those horrors cannot help leaking through between the lines.

His information only drives home the real meaning of the fact that Hitler's concentration camps (not the extermination

camps) were juridically, on paper, governed by the most enlightened principles of penology.

Since 1957, when he was 15 years old, George Jackson has been in the hands of the law. He started out just an ordinary kid who got picked up on a wild trip and confessed to several charges to cop a plea and clear the blotter and "get out in a few weeks."

All these years in prison, seven and a half of them in solitary, have made of him a mature man of powerful mind with a powerful prose style and a pretty accurate idea of who runs the world and how and why.

He is, considering everything, pretty well balanced. Although he is a disciple of Mao, Che and Fanon, I would seriously doubt, from reading these letters, that he had anything to do with, or even knew of his brother's foolhardy attempt to free him.

After all these years in the joint, confronting every minute the naked power of the capitalist state, he's learned, as they say in the joint, to keep his nose clean and not volunteer, to play his cards close to his chest and take no chances.

But he has also learned to be flatly, consistently, irreconcilably defiant, which of course is why, the screw mind being what it is, he doesn't stand a very good chance of living to ever see freedom.

Chessman, remember, was gassed, not because he was technically a kidnapper; but because he was a writ writer, the sin against the Holy Ghost in the eyes of the prison authorities, and Chessman was white. The great pity is that very few black people

over 30 will ever read this book or would understand it if they did.

J.B.'s heart

Fed information by "the comrades," J.B. McNamara, doing life for the bombing of the L.A. Times, and for years head of the Communist Party organization in San Quentin, believed that the C.P.U.S.A., the Comintern and Soviet Russia were all that they purported to be in their own propaganda.

When the news of the great purges and the betrayal of the Spanish Republic, and the betrayal of the California agricultural workers began to penetrate the stone and steel barriers of San Quentin, McNamara's powerful heart, that prison had never damaged, broke. He refused operation for cancer and died.

I wonder if George Jackson, who seems at least as well balanced as J.B., would believe a revolution can be won in the U.S. by urban guerrilla warfare if he were outside. He quotes Che, but the fact is that Che lost before he could ever get started in Bolivia.

He admires Mao and Castro, but both the Chinese and the Cuban Revolutions have been blockaded and distorted, the Cuban not least by the Russians, who have insisted the island remain a sugar monoculture for the benefit of the Russian Empire--a monoculture that at the beginning Castro and Che and their associates promised they would do away with as the first order of business of decolonialization.

—Continued on page 19

JACK MORRISON

No city has ever solved tax problems through high-rise construction

There is no reason San Francisco should play the strumpet to promoters and developers. In the plentitude of her charms and endowments, she could afford to put on a wise coolness and surrender only after knowing her own mind and the advantage of the settlement.

Yet, to many of her public guardians, San Francisco is only the hottest piece of real estate in the Western hemisphere. Who would like to step forward and have his way with her?

When the fell deed is about to be done, though, there is usually a sizable group of people around to express outrage. Sometimes, they are heard in City Hall: there is now a great hubbub on the Board of Supervisors about the latest atrocity proposed for the waterfront.

After fiddling with the issue for months, Diane Feinstein and Roger Boas said it ought to go on the ballot so the sovereign people could decide, other supervisors said the board ought to summon up the courage to vote. Nobody looked good.

It was the Supervisors, of course, who pushed the City along the primrose path and made inevitable the present dalliance with U.S. Steel. This they did when they amended the charter to transfer the port to the city and voted to renounce direct control over non-maritime development of the waterfront.

The profligate intentions of the port directors were known. For years, they panted eagerly. Then, it was easy for Supervi-

sors to give way, for no immediate issue was pressing, but it wasn't hard to foresee the long-run consequences.

U.S. Steel's proposed 550-foot tower is only a stage in the City's travail on the waterfront. The Supervisors, it seemed to me, had a good idea in their tax on off-street parking spaces. To use a fiscal measure as a tool in the fight to reduce automobile congestion made both economic and ecological sense. But logically, the measure would have been accompanied by a decrease in Municipal Railway fares.

Instead, they raised the fares and imposed the tax, making both public and private transportation more onerous.

These decisions, like so many out of City Hall, don't hang together. Obviously, every other consideration was subordinated to curbing the property-tax rate.

The limpness of judgment on U.S. Steel is linked closely to the revenue crisis. The circumstances can be generalized: Whenever a major economic power approaches City Hall with a development proposal, City Hall is in trouble.

First, it is not considered quite respectable in our culture to say no to the likes of Transamerica or U.S. Steel. Always the clincher is that the development will add such and such a value to the tax rolls. Supervisors will sit politely for hours and listen to arguments on the environment and social concerns. Then, they will vote what they consider to be the homeowners'

pocketbooks.

If it is to be politically possible for San Francisco to guide and control its future development, sooner or later the developers will have to be met on their own economic grounds.

Nobody really knows whether U.S. Steel high rise will in the long run be a net financial gain or loss. No city, we can say confidently, has ever solved tax problems through high-rise construction, but it's hard to quantify costs and benefits in any individual case.

We need some reliable gauge of the economic effect of adding an office building to the existing stock and what type building would bring the maximum benefit. I hesitate to recommend another study, but this one is badly needed.

The question: If a study could produce a reliable yardstick, is there any guarantee it would be used when downtown turned the heat on?

From the beginning, there was no doubt the Candlestick Park renovation would cost taxpayers immensely more than its promoters acknowledged.

It was simple arithmetic. (See May 28, 1968 Guardian.) Yet, Supervisors were enthralled. Now, there is great scurrying about, with cries from every quarter, as the debate rattles on whether it is worth \$700,000 or perhaps \$1,700,000 a year of the taxpayers' money to keep the 49ers here. Nobody talks about budget priorities. Sometimes, City Hall plays like opera bouffe.



By Julia Cheever

Mr. and Mrs. D of Oakland are on welfare because almost identical back ailments (slipped disks) prevent them from working—Mr. D as a factory worker, Mrs. D as a domestic.

Mr. D gets a Medi-Cal card and \$143 a month in the federal-state-county Aid for the Totally Disabled (ATD) program. Mrs. D suffers from arthritis and a heart condition as well as a slipped disk. But she was denied the same allowance because of a strange "homemaking" clause that permits county welfare officials to discriminate against women.

Instead of ATD, Mrs. D receives \$66 a month general assistance from the county. This makes the couple's total monthly income only \$209 for all expenses, including rent (\$90), food, clothes and Mrs. D's doctor bills.

She often doesn't go to the doctor when she needs care because she just can't afford it. They are frequently hungry; most months they live on buttermilk and cornbread the last week of the month.

Mrs. S, aged 53 and disabled, lives in Santa Rosa with her mentally retarded daughter. Neither can work to bring income into the household. The daughter gets ATD (\$143) but Mrs. S does not. She gets only county aid of \$39.64 which brings the two women's total monthly income to \$182.64.

Like Mrs. D, Mrs. S is the victim of ATD rules which, while granting aid to those disabled persons who live alone and cannot work, often denies it to disabled women who live with other people. They are denied aid if, even though judged unable to work, they are judged able to perform "a significant constellation" of homemaking chores.

Through this regulation, county examiners classified Mrs. S and Mrs. D as "homemakers" and denied them aid, even though Mrs. D is so ill she spends most of her time in bed. (The rule was established by the state and approved by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; county officials administer it.)

Theoretically, the "homemaking" rule could be applied to disabled men who live with someone else. But that doesn't seem to happen. Sarita Waite, an Oakland lawyer who participated in some 50 ATD hearings last year, has "never seen it applied to a man." Colquitt Walker, an Alameda legal aid attorney who is challenging Mrs. D's case in federal court, is "not aware of a man ever being denied ATD because of homemaking."

The rule originated, according to Ms. Walker, because the state didn't want to give ATD to women who had always been housewives and who were supported by their husbands. But the state's vision of woman as homemaker seems cruel indeed when it's used against families like Mrs. D's and Mrs. S' that have no wage-earners. As Ms. Walker puts it, "homemaking has no relevancy to people who can't afford to buy food."

The government's view of woman as housekeeper carries over into the sphere of paying work. According to Ms. Waite, county examiners often ask female ATD applicants if they have thought of earning money by babysitting, but never ask men.

Phil Lewis, organizer of the Committee for the Rights of the Disabled at the SF Welfare Rights Organization says his office gets "one or two calls a day" from desperate women denied ATD. What happens to them? "Well, sometimes they can get general assistance, sometimes a bit of Social Security, or sometimes some kind of job. And there's also a high suicide rate."

• • •

Welfare women also are discriminated against in the WIN (Work Incentive) job training programs sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor. Federal guidelines dictate that men heading families receiving AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) must be referred to these programs, and that these men get priority over women applying for the program.

Because of these guidelines, counties close the program to all women whenever funds get low—which happens regularly in the Bay Area. "Whenever money gets tight, they freeze the program and refuse to let in women," explained Contra Costa Legal Services attorney Carmen Massey, who is preparing a legal challenge to the guidelines.

The Contra Costa County WIN program now refuses women; the Alameda County program, closed last winter, currently is open; San Francisco closed its rolls to women on September 14, even though more than 90 per cent of the 14,000 SF families receiving AFDC are headed by women.

The special irony of the discrimination is that mothers who volunteer for the training are more likely to succeed than the men who are forced to join the program, according to Ms. Waite. Linda Lawrence of the state department of Human Resources Development adds that "Women do better in the program since they're volunteers. They're striving to get off welfare. Many of these mothers haven't even told their families they're on welfare."

• • •

Of course, some welfare regulations discriminate against men. If an AFDC father gets a fulltime job, for instance, his family loses the welfare grant; an employed AFDC mother may lose only part of the grant. The WIN and ATD rules against women are quirks of a generally arbitrary and cruel system, not part of a conspiracy against women.

Yet women do bear the brunt of the welfare system, if only because of numbers. The AFDC program, in which women head most families, represents more recipients in San Francisco than all other county-administered programs considered together.

THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY
GUARDIAN

PHONE UN 1-9600 ADDRESS: 1070 BRYANT ST., SAN FRANCISCO

We recommend

CANDIDATES

- STATE OFFICES**
Governor-Jess Unruh (D)*
Lt. Governor-Alfred Alquist (D)
Secy. of State-Edmund G. Brown, Jr. (D)
Controller-Ronald B. Cameron (D)
Atty. Gen.-Charles A. O'Brien (D)
State School Sup.-Wilson Riles
Senator-John Tunney (D)*
- CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS**
5th-(SF) Philip Burton (D)
6th-(SF) Russell Miller (D)*
7th-(Berkeley) Ron Dellums (D)
11th-(San Mateo) Pete McCloskey (R)
9th-(San Jose) Don Edwards (D)
4th-(Vallejo) Robert Leggett (D)
14th-(Concord) Jerome Waldie (D)
- STATE SENATE DISTRICTS**
10th-(SF) George Moscone (D)
12th-(San Mateo) Arlen Gregorio (D)
4th-(Marin/Napa/Solano) Peter Behr (R)
- STATE ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS**
18th-(SF) Willie Brown (D)
19th-(SF) Leo T. McCarthy (D)
20th-(SF) John L. Burton (D)
23rd-(SF) John F. Foran (D)
5th-(Napa) John F. Dunlap (D)
15th-(Alameda) March K. Fong (D)
16th-(Alameda) Ken Meade (D)
24th-(Santa Clara) John Vasconcellos (D)
- JUDGE, MUNICIPAL COURT NO. 4 (SF)**
Terry A. Francois
- ASSESSOR (SF)**
Joseph Tinney
- BOARD OF EQUALIZATION (Marin)**
William Bennett

*Key vote: to eliminate important hawks

SAN FRANCISCO PROPOSITIONS

- | | | |
|----|---|-----|
| A. | Water Pollution Control Bonds (\$65,000,000) | Yes |
| B. | School Bonds, Hunters Point Redevelopment Project (at least two decades overdue) | Yes |
| C. | Retirement Credits while on Military Service for Market St. R.R. Employees | Yes |
| D. | Retirement Credits for Veterans Whose Entry into City Service was delayed due to Military Service | Yes |
| E. | Interest Rates on Bonds, Not More Than 7% | Yes |
| F. | Police Department Contingent and Narcotic Fund: Salary Payment to Member of Department upon Exoneration of Charges. (both F and G are put up for the law and order folk: these benefits are discriminatory unless extended to all public employees) | No |
| G. | Working benefits for Police and Fire Departments | No |
| H. | Elective School Board by Districts and at Large | Yes |
| I. | Declaration of Policy: Change Name of Candlestick Park to O'Doul Stadium (Lefty O'Doul ought to be in the Hall of Fame, not a tin can tied to this galloping civic boondoggle.) | No |
| J. | Declaration of Policy: Vietnamese War (Important as the first local step toward converting from a war to a peace economy. See "Urgent Proposal," pg. 1.) | Yes |

STATE PROPOSITIONS

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 1. | Clean Water Bond Law 1970 | Yes |
| 2. | Vacancies, Specified Constitutional Offices | Yes |
| 3. | State Budget, Submission Date | Yes |
| 4. | Appropriation for Public Schools | Yes |
| 5. | Regents of Univ. of Calif.: Public Meetings (would apply the Brown anti-secrecy act to the Regents, would force public scrutiny of traditionally secret shenanigans on nuclear war research, the university investment portfolio and land policies involving the Irvine campus.) | Yes |
| 6. | Teacher's Retirement Fund: Investments | Yes |
| 7. | State Colleges: Speaker Member of Governing Body | No |
| 8. | Civil Service Exemption of Deputy Supt. Public Instruction | Yes |
| 9. | County Superintendent of Schools (doesn't apply to SF) | |
| 10. | Interest Rate Limitation (another big break for the life insurance companies) | No |
| 11. | Amendment of Chiropractic Initiative Act | Yes |
| 12. | Compensation of County Supervisors (doesn't apply to SF) | |
| 13. | Tax Exemption for Disabled & Blind Veterans | Yes |
| 14. | State Civil Service Revisions (14, 15, 16, 17 recommended by the state charter revision committee) | Yes |
| 15. | Partial Constitutional Revisions | Yes |
| 16. | Constitutional Amendments | Yes |
| 17. | Partial Constitution Revision Re Social Welfare | Yes |
| 18. | Motor Vehicle Taxation and Revenues | Yes |
| 19. | Amendment, Usury Law Initiative Act (aimed at helping small business & minority groups) | Yes |
| 20. | Fish and Wildlife Bond Act (a euphemistic steam-roller: would provide money to finish portions of the water plan) | No |

Don't pay your utility tax



ROBERT BASTIAN
1917 - 1970

He was a gentle, kind and enormously talented man, truly one of the great cartoonists of our time. Yet he also was a man torn by some terrible inner torture which he valiantly hid while sharing with us his great humor, insight and intelligence -- first at The Chronicle, occasionally in drawings for the Guardian and, most recently, and most importantly, on KQED's "Newsroom," where he pioneered a new concept of editorial cartooning which opened our eyes even wider to the world around us. We shall miss Bob Bastian.

San Francisco Supervisors have granted Pacific Gas & Electric still another boon--this time in adopting the five per cent sales tax on gas, electric, telephone and water bills that went into effect on Oct 1.

The measure further institutionalizes PG&E's illegal power monopoly in San Francisco by giving status to the giant utility as an official city tax collector. More, it gives City Hall a vested interest in raising PG&E rates and from now on refusing to oppose PG&E rate increases as it has in the past. For whenever the rates go up, returns under the new tax ordinance also will go up.

This is the last of a barn full of straws. It is time for supervisors to live up to the public power mandates of the City Charter and federal law. The city must buy out PG&E and use its own facilities to bring its own cheap public power to San Francisco from Hetch Hetchy.

Until the supervisors do this, San Franciscans should not pay the five per cent tax that now appears on their PG&E bills--and send along a note with the bill explaining precisely why

they are making a principled refusal. (For assistance, contact the Guardian and ask for back copies on PG&E and Congressional Record reprints of Hetch Hetchy statements by Sen. Lee Metcalf (D-Montana.)

According to a recent ruling by the State Public Utilities Commission on a similar tax imposed in Vallejo, "utilities cannot disconnect or threaten to disconnect the utility service of any customer" who does this, as long as he pays his regular bill.

San Francisco could bring these taxpayers into court to try to collect. But in so doing, the city might well prompt a serious legal challenge to the city's chronic failure to buck PG&E and bring Hetch Hetchy power to San Francisco under the public power mandates.

Is there a better way to make the point that, if the city is interested in law enforcement, it ought to start with PG&E?

That's the point: the city collects a five per cent utility tax from every utility user in town, but doesn't go after the \$30 million in illegal profits that go each year to PG&E.

Up against the wall?

You might think, in this year of 1970, that workers in private, urban employment would be secure in the right to effective unions which was won more than 30 years ago.

This fight should be over; the fight now is to extend what they won to farm workers and to workers in public employment.

However, the fight is not over in the newspaper business where some of the notably reactionary men who publish and manage papers seem determined to severely weaken, if not drive out, unions which represent mechanical and editorial employees.

The most notorious situation is in Los Angeles. There, unions have been on strike against the Hearst Corporation's Herald-Examiner since December,

1967. Hearst provoked the strike by refusing to bargain with the American Newspaper Guild local which represented the newspaper's editorial employees.

Then, under a carefully prepared plan, the Herald Examiner locked out its other union employees and brought in non-union crews to put out the paper.

The Herald-Examiner plant has been turned into an armed fortress, the newspaper's advertising lineage and circulation have dropped and Hearst is spending far more to employ non-union strikebreakers than it spent on its regular employees.

But Hearst has a great deal of money and a great deal of time--enough, it apparently assumes, to force the unions to

finally abandon the costly fight.

Newspaper unions face similar problems at the San Rafael Independent-Journal, which was struck on Jan. 7 by the International Typographical Union.

When the union struck, after more than a year of fruitless negotiations on a new contract, the work of its members in the composing room was taken over immediately by non-union workers from other departments who had been specially trained by the newspaper and by non-union crews from outside.

The I-J strikers seemed no less provoked than were those at the Herald-Examiner. For the newspaper flatly demanded that the union abandon basic contract rights which it has had at newspapers everywhere for decades.

The union insists it is willing to bargain even on these long-held rights, but that the I-J wants capitulation rather than negotiation. It's true, at any rate, that the newspaper has repeatedly refused the request of the union and community groups to have the dispute settled by arbitration, and it must have known the union would be pushed into a strike because of the paper's attitude.

Most important, the I-J knew it was asking the union to accept lesser contract terms than have been granted by the Bay Area's other daily newspapers.

Understandably, the Typographical Union does not want to agree to such a precedent. For the other newspaper managements are watching closely, as they plan for March 1971, when the contracts of all unions at newspapers in San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose and elsewhere in the area expire.

Los Angeles and San Rafael could be just the beginning.

THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY GUARDIAN

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"It is a newspaper's duty to print the news, and raise hell."
(Wilbur F. Storey: Statement of the aims of the Chicago Times, 1861)

Editor and publisher: Bruce B. Brugmann
Managing editor: Roger Henkle
Associate editor: Jean Dibble
Environmental editor: Robert Jones
Poetry editor: Bill Anderson
Urban affairs editor: Chester Hartman
Utilities editor: Peter L. Petrakis
News staff: Douglas Dibble, Julia Cheever,
Marsha Berzon, Marilyn Morgan

Art director: Marion Dibble
Paste-up: Dana Sardet, Nancy Senauke, Tom Dutton,
Richard Stetson
Staff photographer: Tony Rogers
Editors at large: Creighton H. Churchill, Wilbur Wood,
Alan Velie, Marvin Breslow,
Jess Brownell, Wilbur Gaffney,
William Kelsay, Theodore Rasmussen

Advertising: Eloise Wolff
Business manager: Paul Sherlock
Production: Mary Rose, Barbara Furrer, Bruce Manson

Washington Report

Lack of enthusiasm and John Tunney seem to go together

By Tiffin Patrick

WASHINGTON-- The White House and the conservative-dominated National Republican Senatorial Committee have made California Sen. George Murphy the No. 1 re-election priority of 1970.

Reports filed with the Senate clerk here show Murphy received \$66,648 from the national committee alone during 1969 and the first eight months of 1970, nearly \$20,000 more than the amount given any incumbent GOP senator and six times the amount doled out to liberal Republican Charles Goodell of New York.

While the allocations accurately reflect the committee's favoritism to conservative candidates, they are incomplete. Truck-size loopholes in the Corrupt Practices Act permit allocation of national committee funds to such unidentifiable groups as the Washington-based "Committee to Further Educational Opportunity." Only the GOP fat cats know where the money actually goes.

No accident

It is no accident Murphy is the favorite son of the GOP national committee. The committee chairman is Texas Sen. John Tower, who is widely regarded among his colleagues as the most able Republican conservative on capitol hill.

Tower succeeded Murphy under a committee rule which forbids a senator to serve as chairman during the last two years of his incumbency.

However, the Texan has taken care of his own, both ideologically and geographically. Murphy drew the largest share of any incumbent from the GOP fund, and non-incumbent George Bush of Texas topped the entire list with \$73,940.

Republican moderates, whether incumbents or not, were not similarly favored. Clark MacGregor in Minnesota received only \$8,700, Lowell P. Weicker in Connecticut \$15,000 and Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, not fully forgiven for his opposition to Clement Haynsworth, \$27,155.

Fly free

The national committee fund disbursements are the visible tip of the iceberg. The committee also provides

a variety of other services, among them free air travel cards that senators can use for campaigning during the last two years of their incumbency. Since Murphy also enjoyed a similar privilege courtesy of rightwing millionaire Patrick Frawley, the California senator has been able to take his choice of credit cards.

Frawley's company, Technicolor, Inc., also paid Murphy \$20,000 a year.

Lately, however, Murphy hasn't been making many trips to Washington. His only appearance during September was for a pierside fundraiser. Leather-bound copies of Murphy's sterile autobiography, "Say...Didn't You Used To Be George Murphy?" were pilfered to wealthy contributors at \$1,000 apiece.

The book, written with the aid of Kennedy-hater Victor Lasky, devotes less than 30 of its 438 pages to Murphy's Senate career and makes no mention at all of benefactor Frawley.

A flop

But the book-selling fundraiser was a flop, at least as a party. Its promoters had promised the attendance of "the most famous star to come out of Hollywood, more famous than George Murphy even."

The star, in an unfortunate bit of symbolism, turned out to be someone dressed as Mickey Mouse. Even worse, the hordes of celebrities and congressmen who were supposed to attend didn't bother to show up, and the White House was forced to beef up the appearance of a crowd by passing out free tickets to staff members.

Despite everything, Murphy's backers here claimed this "salute to GeorgeM." raised \$48,000. Other sources said \$25,000, but the actual figure remains a mystery. There are no campaign fund reporting laws whatsoever in the District of Columbia.

Murphy's Democratic challenger, Rep. John V. Tunney of Riverside, also held his own Washington fundraiser in September. It, too, was less than a rousing success. Tunney's finance chairman here said that the affair, held at the home of former John F. Kennedy aide Charles Daley, and another similar party last February together netted

\$40,000.

But Tunney's parties were padded by non-paying congressman, congressional staffers and newspapermen, and the candidate notably failed to arouse any significant enthusiasm.

Where's Tunney?

Lack of enthusiasm and John Tunney seem to go together.

It was good strategy for Spencer-Roberts (the campaign firm managing Murphy) to go after Tunney's attendance record, for Tunney is notorious among his colleagues for repeated failures to show up on key floor or committee votes. Tunney's attendance at the September fundraising was, like Murphy's, his only recent appearance in Washington.

Coming round

Still, the liberals in the California delegation have slowly but surely come around to Tunney's corner, partly because his record on ABM, the war and environmental issues is better than Murphy's partly because the California election could determine party control of the Senate.

Tunney has been especially helped by the consistent backing of Rep. George Brown, the liberal whom Tunney defeated in the Democratic primary with an attack directed very near the beltline. Brown's support, Tunney said correctly at this fundraiser, is a "precondition" for victory over Murphy.

"I still don't like John particularly," Brown told intimates here recently. "But there is just no question that he's better than Murphy on the war and on most everything else and I'm backing him."

It is on such slender endorsements that successful political campaigns are forged.

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BOOKS

Press Club reaction

-Continued from page 15

Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, GE, Westinghouse and advertising agencies.

These "radiclib" have taken over so much of the San Francisco press corps that non-enforcement of the Raker Act and the theft of Hetch Hetchy power isn't even mentioned by the San Francisco dailies.

Agnew should know this. He's been talking about just the radiclib in the eastern press. But they are infiltrating the media all over the country.

...

This U.S. Senate speech, by Sen. Lee Metcalf (D-Montana), was entered in the Congressional Record on Aug. 19, 1970, under the title "Monopolies support monopolies in San Francisco." It was reported in a 14-paragraph story in the Sacramento Bee newspapers by Leo Rennert, the Bee's Washington bureau chief.

Mr. President, last month a bill to exempt newspapers from the antitrust laws was signed into law by the President, whose administration has certainly on more than one occasion criticized media concentration. This new law further strengthening the news conglomerates makes the survival of the small, independent newspapers even more tenuous.

One such independent, the San Francisco Bay Guardian, a monthly, continues to struggle against the price-fixing unity of that city's two major dailies. The Guardian has pioneered many controversial areas untouched by the larger papers.

And its courageous and excellent reporting has not gone unnoticed. During the past decade, the San Francisco Press Club has on two occasions awarded the Guardian its "Pulitzer of the West" Award--in 1964 and 1967. The Guardian has also won four out of the San Francisco Press Club's nine awards in the "nondaily" category during the past 3 years, including first place in the 1969 competition.

In view of this fine record, I was greatly surprised to learn from Bruce B. Brugmann, publisher of the Guardian, that his paper has been excluded from the Press Club's competition

this year.

I believe this exclusion is explained, however, by the sad fact that the chairman of the Press Club's Awards Committee is none other than a public relations man from the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

One of the courageous campaigns waged during the past 2 years by the Guardian has been against that company's monopolistic and political strength in San Francisco and northern California.

The Guardian has documented P.G. & E.'s direct violations of the law--see articles in the April 3, 1970, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pages E2738-E2742.

The Guardian has criticized the company's love-in with the major San Francisco dailies, and finally, it has recently advocated municipal ownership of P.G. & E.'s local electric distribution system.

One of the Guardian's editors, Peter Petrakis, recently suggested to the Public Utilities Commission a feasibility study on the acquisition of the system. This study is now underway.

Perhaps this was the last straw for P.G. & E. Its tolerance for "freedom of the press" has reached the breaking point. So through the Press Club the company is "punishing" this small, independent newspaper which it believes poses such a threat to its monopoly.

Mr. President, I am dismayed that P.G. & E. would choose this arena for its punitive and petty actions against the Guardian.

I am appalled, however, that the San Francisco Press Club would allow its fine and respected halls to be used for such obvious derogation of the "freedom of the press" on which rests its tradition if not its very existence.

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the Bay Guardian's June 8 release of Peter Petrakis' testimony before the San Francisco's Board of Supervisors, with its analysis of city acquisition of the electric system; and finally the recent comments of our Washington friend, Nicholas von Hoffman, who refers to the Bay Guardian as "the best and most reliable periodical in the city--San Francisco."

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KENNETH REXROTH

—Continued from page 16

The Panthers have not won. The Weathermen have not won. The Madison, Wisconsin bombing, the Marin Courthouse shoot-out and all other similar acts of revolutionary terrorism have backfired and set the struggle back and driven away thousands of potential allies who outnumber the revolutionary grouplets by a thousand to one.

Power may come out of the mouth of a gun, but the urban revolutionary guerrillas are never going to be able to mobilize a significant amount of armament. It is simply not true that the Vietnam War has demonstrated that guerrilla warfare can bring the American Empire to its knees.

Southeast Asia is exactly what the anti-war people say, not a determinatively significant piece on the chessboard of the American Empire.

If the U.S. wanted to go to war for real, it could shave 20 feet off the whole Indochinese peninsula in a night and just clean up its inventory.

If and when the American Empire is threatened at home, really threatened with life or death, it has plenty of hard-

ware, biological, chemical and atomic, to take care of such a contingency, and the inhabitants of Harlem or the campus of Berkeley will be just another bunch of gooks.

The present Administration, announcing its intentions through its polysyllabic Greek colonel windbag, is driving the country as fast as it can toward total polarization. Its avowed "control slogan" is "If we have to have a bloodbath, let's have it now and get it over with."

The Drugstore Cowboy may have told the press that this was just rhetoric, but indeed it was not. It was a highly successful appeal to his constituency.

How are the humane, civilized forces for a decent society going to cope with these blood-soaked Assyrians and Aztecs who rule America?

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BEST BETS



By Susan Morris

The Bay Area is blessed with a multitude of small independent shops that provide the imaginative, energetic and persistent shopper with delightful goods and services but which often are missed.

For those with a limited budget and a perfectly good but worn piece of furniture, there is a Do-It-Yourself Shop at 1574 University Ave. in Berkeley (848-7464). To the novice the shop may be frightening with its unfamiliar machines and tools. However, with Scotty Ouellet instructing, Jim, her husband, providing any and all supplies, and Rich Burch, their assistant, holding a never-ending gab session, new arrivals soon feel right at home. It soon becomes clear that upholstering is not difficult—only time-consuming and exacting work. This shop is not for the person who dislikes long-term projects. It will take about three weeks of steady work five days a week to redo a couch professionally. However, it is extremely satisfying, and if you've spent all your money at the psychiatrist and is recommending occupational therapy, this is perfect.

For couches, there is a monthly \$25 shop fee which includes instructions, use of tools, machines and space. The fee for hide-away beds is \$30 because they must be dismantled. Chairs are \$2-\$15, love seats \$20, sectionals \$15 a piece, ottomans \$1 to \$5, headboards \$5 to \$20.

Added to the basic shop fee is the cost of fabric and supplies. The latter can run quite high on a couch, particularly if it has a lot of cushions and pillowbacks. (\$21 for 3 cushions alone.) If the material is bought elsewhere, the shop fee is doubled. The selection available is good.

These prices should suggest that even doing the upholstering yourself is not cheap. However, it is so prohibitively expensive to buy a new, good piece of furniture today that if you have some spare time and an old piece you like, you should drop by. You can cut the cost approximately in half if you, rather than a store, do the work. You may even find you can do a better job. The shop is closed Mondays; hours from 9 to 4.

Department stores and boutiques are loaded with fun costume jewelry. Relatively inexpensive, it serves the purpose of perking up a drab outfit or adding a nice touch. Unfortunately, it is often inadequately put together and not expensive enough to return with a legitimate complaint. Surprisingly enough, squirreled away among the expensively priced shops on Union Street is a tiny shop which offers a wonderful variety of carefully made rings, earrings, chokers and pins—all reasonably priced. Mithril at 1952 Union St. (563-8267), opened last December, is run by a husband-wife team. Their merchandise is made by local and east coast artisans and has either been bought outright by the Hadenfeldts or is being sold on consignment. (The owners are always interested in acquiring new items so you might give them a call if you make jewelry.)

The shop is nothing more than a tiny room on the top floor, in the back; but it's worth the trip upstairs. You can browse to your heart's content, and I think you will be pleasantly surprised by the quality, variety and prices. Earrings are \$1.50 to \$15; sterling silver rings \$15 to \$30, chokers are \$2.50 to \$15. Necklaces with semiprecious stones are \$10. Antique items are next to modern ones—so many tastes can be satisfied. An intriguing item is the gold rings with organic settings. Other rings, although made of sterling, have an unusual color. There are jasper necklaces made in India but strung in the U.S. on nylon string.

The Mithril is an enjoyable shop. I recommend it to those who are tired of looking at and buying "junk."

Nicholas Upholstery Shop at 2227 Polk St. (775-0758). For those who have been depressed, disgusted or unsatisfied with the selection of furniture at the bigger stores, this shop may be the perfect answer. Nicholas Szollosi, a native Hungarian, will build and upholster couches, chairs and ottomans for you in any style and fabric you want. Although he has been a resident of the U.S. for 48 years, Nicholas resembles the old school European craftsman who takes pride in his work. He has a sense of color, proportions and design that is impressive and helpful. Low-keyed and budget conscious, he will direct customers away from more expensive, less practical fabrics to ones just as appealing but half the price.

It will cost about \$350, plus fabric, to have a seven or eight foot couch made without pillowbacks. With loose pillowbacks, \$450 in muslin. Wingback chairs are \$275-\$300 plus fabric. The new furniture can be ordered in muslin if the budget is limited, thus eliminating the additional cost of fabric entirely. The cost of reupholstering a couch varies. The cost for a chair is \$75, an ottoman \$35. Nicholas will also do repair work on the legs and arms at reasonable prices (four legs-\$20). As is the case with all upholsterers, the cost of labor doubles if fabric is ordered elsewhere; since the selection is excellent, this should not be a problem.

Because it is essentially a one-man operation, Nicholas does not like to leave his shop. He is eager however, to spend as long as necessary with customers in his store. It is cash on delivery, but this should be outweighed by the fact the work is done quickly and beautifully.

The Fashion Knits Shop on 1166 Solano Ave. in Albany (527-3401) specializes in knit fabrics and sells patterns and fabric to make bikini underpants, (also half slips, bathing suits, chemises). Tricot is \$1.93 a yard, 103" wide. (Eight pants to a yard) Elastic is 19 cents a yard, lace 80 cents—Total cost of one pair is about 70 cents. They are easy to make, although the first pair may take a while. Directions are simple, the end result looks much better than the pants you pay \$2.50 for in the store. The pattern is \$1 and includes three sizes.

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PASHA PILLOWS
AND GIFTS



By Alan Wofsy

Scientists recently answered that age-old question: "Why is San Francisco's sour dough french bread different than all other breads?" But no sooner had they solved the great mystery than San Franciscans began complaining, in letters and articles in the city's daily newspapers, that the sour dough really isn't very sour anymore.

But whether sour or not-so-sour, we finally do know, thanks to the long-awaited research findings, that the taste results from a unique combination of yeast and bacteria.

The findings were reported by the U.S. Agricultural Department's Western Regional Research Laboratory in Albany. They showed that the taste comes directly from the high acid content in the bread--almost 10 times the acid content in regular bread--and that the bacteria and yeast act on the dough to produce this acid. The bacteria is in the sour dough starter or sponge. These bacteria transform the principal sugar in the dough, maltose, into acids, mainly acetic acid, which also is the chief acid in vinegar. The yeast in the starter known as *S. exiguus* ferments the other carbohydrates in the dough, which it thus leavens. Leavening in most bread is accomplished by manufactured baker's yeast. Baker's yeast makes the dough rise twice as fast as sour dough yeast. The reason is that baker's yeast ferments the maltose, which is the predominant sugar in the dough. Sour dough yeast on the other hand is unable to ferment maltose. At the same time, sour dough bacteria need the maltose to make acid.

Now, if it is true that this sour dough bread is not what it used to be, it's simply a matter of economics. Time is money, and baker's yeast leavens in half the time of sour dough yeast. But the catch is that baker's yeast needs the same maltose as do the sour dough bacteria. Therefore, although the sour dough bread will rise faster if baker's yeast is used, it won't be as sour. The reason for this is that the sour dough bacteria and the baker's yeast both need maltose, and there's not enough to go around. So when you see a light loaf of sour dough bread baker's yeast was probably used.

The sourness of the loaf probably is most directly related to the amount of sour dough starter which is added to the dough. The sponge or starter ages for 7-8 hours before it is mixed with the dough. During this aging process, the acidity of the sponge develops. Very sour dough bread results when the dough contains 25 to 30 per cent sponge. Most sour dough bread probably contains 15 per cent sponge, and the percentage may be as low as 10 per cent. Since baker's yeast cannot thrive in a highly acidic environment, bakers who wish to speed up the leavening process will use a lower percentage of sponge, and thus get a less sour loaf.

Another time saving method which decreases the sourness of the bread involves cooking the bread for a shorter time at a higher temperature. For example, a very crisp, sour bread results from baking at 375° to 420° for an hour. Most of the sour dough bakeries now bake at 450° for 45 minutes or less. The full sourness does not develop during this shorter period, the crust is softer and the inside is soggy than it ought to be. The principal reason they produce softer crusted lighter breads, bakers claim, is because consumers tend to buy the loaves which feel the softest.

An interesting parallel exists between the sour dough bakeries and the top San Francisco restaurants. In both cases it is often the front men, the maitre d's in the restaurants and the salesmen in the bakeries, who own the business. The chefs and bakers, the creators, work long and strange hours.

The father of our ambassador to Great Britain made his fortune on the motto: no one ever lost any money underestimating the taste of the American public. So in answer to the question about the existence of sour dough bread, it should be said that today's bread is probably on the average less sour and crusty. But the diligent consumer can go to any of the sour dough bakeries and get as crispy and sour a loaf as he desires. I'd guess you could trip into Larraburu, at 365 - 3rd Ave. in the Richmond round about 6 a.m. and get the same loaf which will later grace the tables of Sam's Grill, where seafood is so nobly prepared.

No endeavor could be more human than baking bread. And bakers are truly the salt of the earth, the original night people. Picture three bakers at a table, working in unison, slicing off hunks of dough, cutting off one pound pieces, forming them. Some bakers just like baking. Others also like the feeling of independence. For example, the baker and one-time owner of Franco, at 31 San Pedro Road in Colma, is now the employee of the three delivery men. He now gets a union wage plus overtime and night differential. In that sense, this employee-baker is better off than such partner-bakers as Pete Mercado of the Ruby Baking Co., at 98 Leland Ave., who averages 11 hours a night and shares the profits with his partner-deliverymen. But as Joe Ferrando, one of 18 partners in the Royal Baking Co., at 4773 Mission St. put it, you have a smoke when you want and take your 5 weeks in Italy. Steve Giraudo, head baker at Boudin, at 399 - 10th Ave., says at his establishment it's the baker who calls the shots, though the deliverymen be partners.

There are two worlds in the sour dough bread business in San Francisco. The old world is typified by Ruby, Royal, Franco and Calegari-Toscana, at 3220 Fillmore St. Here the dough is hand divided and brick ovens are used exclusively. The bread making is time consuming and expensive, and it's doubtful they'll be with us in 1984. The new world is exemplified by Larraburu and Parisian, where the dough is machine divided and automated and metal traveling ovens are employed. Between these two worlds fall Boudin and Ventian, at 2200 Powell St. Both machine divide their dough, which means it can't age as long, but they still employ brick ovens for sour dough bread. The old pros insist that a brick oven is necessary for a well cooked crusty loaf. I feel that the baking time may be more significant.

Rolfe Peterson Reviews Theatre



Hamlet (ACT)
Promises, Promises
(Civic Light Opera)
The Ofay Watcher
(Encore Theatre)

In taking on Hamlet, Dame Judith Anderson demonstrates more Great Chutzpah than Great Acting.

The obvious incongruities of Hamlet as a 72-year-old lady might conceivably be overlooked if the full powers of this overwhelming actress were brought into play. But she simply recites the lines as fast as she can speak them, sometimes to the point of unintelligibility, giving almost nothing in movement or intensity to bring the words to life.

On those two or three occasions when she does emote with fire and feeling, we are reminded that somewhere inside that little lady there is a great actress, although we do not see much of her on the stage of the Geary theater.

William Ball's staging is a fine concept--a stark and simple production in which props and action are minimized so that the full richness of the poetry can be experienced without distraction. This Hamlet, performed economically but with inner intensity by excellent actors concentrating on the music and the meaning, might be memorable. As it is, it is certainly interesting, but the fine concept is continually defeated by the inadequacies of the company.

Laurence Hugo is a pedestrian King Claudius with an American accent that sounds unprofessional surrounded by the stage diction of other actors. Ludi Claire, as the Queen, scowls a lot and comes across as an ordinary broad with an unpleasant personality. Charles Dillon delivers a few lines as a lord of the court that make you wonder what on earth he's doing on the professional stage.

A toll of adequacy

The three members of the ACT come off well. Philip Kerr makes a lively and convincing Laertes, and Rick Poe and Robert Ground are as good as Rosencrantz and Guildenstern ever are. Don McHenry is good as Polonius. Best of all, perhaps, is Stephen D. Newman's Horatio. But these are merely atolls of adequacy in a sea of mediocrity.

The purists will criticize the ruthless editing which leaves us only half a Hamlet, but under the circumstances I think it's a good idea. You get the Big Moments, as you do in an LP of Opera Highlights, without having to work too hard for them or stay out too late.

Ruthlessly truncated though it is, diffidently performed though it is, it is still Hamlet, and to observe actors in rich robes, atmospherically etched in stage lighting, intoning these marvelous words, at times gives one a feeling of religious awe, as if those people up there were not actors but priests, reciting our cultural scripture.

This Hamlet is certainly not the Hamlet, but any Hamlet has its rewards. And even a

Judith Anderson not at her best is still Judith Anderson, a theatrical personage whose experiment with a classic role cannot be without interest.

'Promises, Promises'

"Promises, Promises" is the Civic Light Opera offering at the Curran, and it's a good one. The highly touted songs of Burt Bacharach and Hal David are disappointing. Melissa Hart, an excellent singer and all-round performer in "Cabaret" a couple of seasons ago, surely cannot be blamed for the fact that the Bacharach songs she sings in "Promises, Promises" come out sounding ugly, awkward and possibly unsingable.

But if the music of this musical comedy is disappointing, the comedy is triumphant. Very little comedy is to be found in musical comedy these days, and it's a therapeutic experience to find genuinely funny characters and lines in the musical framework.

I remember the Wilder-Diamond screenplay "The Apartment," on which "Promises, Promises" is closely based, as being blacker and less winning comedy than this Neil Simon libretto. It is chic now to denigrate Simon, possibly because his commercial success has made everybody else insanely jealous, but the fact is that he has mastered the difficult but immensely pleasurable art of the comic utterance that flows with almost poetic rhythm.

The singing and acting of this company are only so-so, aside from Mr. Robert's droll one-lining and two production numbers of wit and style that tear up the theatre. But there is one part in which Simon's comic writing and Kelly Britt's per-

forming come together to create a memorable character, the overblown female swinger who meets men in bars and delivers a running commentary on her unassailable moral standards while pushing her victims into bed as rapidly as possible. It's a true and funny contemporary type, and Miss Britt alone is worth the price of admission.

'Ofay watcher'

"The Ofay Watcher," at the Encore Theatre, offers three characters who portray, with heavy-handed symbolism, the white liberal bonehead, the Uncle Tom and the black militant. Jim Brady as the white liberal is weaker than the script calls for, but Elaine Jackson and Leonard Simon bring excitement and a sense of potential acting power to their roles.

The trouble is with Frank Cucci. Like most new playwrights, he wrestles with the big sociological demons of the moment, like race and dope and homosexuality and unjust wars. You can almost hear them grunt and smell their sweat as they endeavor with great earnestness but minimal flair to bring these issues--it's race in "The Ofay Watcher"--alive before our eyes and make us feel uncomfortable about them.

In "The Ofay Watcher," I was made uncomfortable in a way that Cucci did not intend. His amalgam of kid-the-honkies humor and the-sky-is-falling racial forecast is crude ore that never got to the smelter. The intelligent citizen can get the same themes presented with much more immediacy and almost as much dramatic cohesion on the front page of the morning paper.

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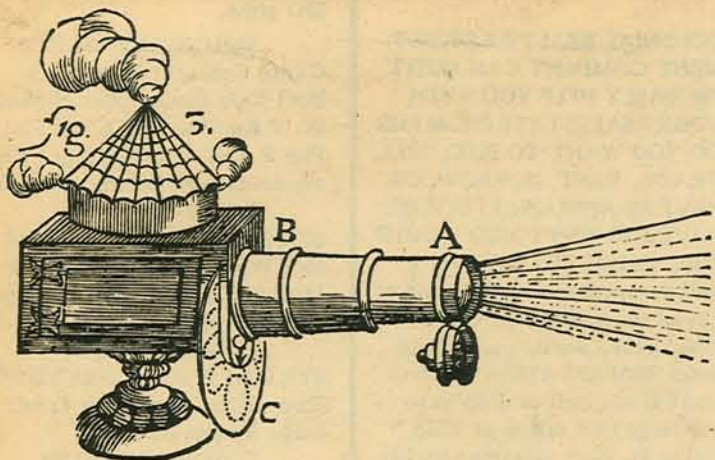
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Margo Skinner
Reviews Cinema

Lovers and Other Strangers
(Metro I)
Diary of a Mad Housewife
(Northpoint, Oct. 16)
RPM
(El Rey, Coliseum, New Mission,
Spruce Drive-In)

The preview audience at "Lovers and Other Strangers" laughed heartily. The two critics in the house (I was one) cringed in their seats and hoped it would end quickly.

Recipe for "Lovers": Take the plots of all the TV situation comedies you can remember. Blend in a bit of "The Graduate" (the heroine's upper-class family and the hero's charm). Add a soupçon of "Goodbye, Columbus" (the ethnic wedding party, here Italian).

Stir in the kind of sexual "frankness" that appeals to middle-aged straights, and throw in some young, emancipated lovers for the youth trade. Use a wedding as unifying device,

photograph unimaginatively, handle your actors like television characters (thin but noisy) and serve to an enthusiastic audience—the same kind of audience which keeps the idiot box idiotic.

Cy Howard directed TV's "My Friend Irma" for years. "Lovers" is his first motion picture. It follows.

Stoops to play

Gig Young stoops to play, uncomfortably, the father of the bride, who's always necking in bathrooms with his long-term mistress. As young, would-be swingers, Bob Dishy and Marion Hailey contribute two of the year's worst performances. Most revolting of all is Anne Meara's shrieking caricature of an emasculating wife.

Though veteran Richard Castellano tries hard as the hero's Italian father, only the wedding pair, Bonnie Bedelia (the pregnant marathon dancer of "They Shoot Horses") and Michael Brandon come through in the general debacle. They're fresh, natural and charming, and they must have fought the director all the way.

For an honest study of quiet desperation in the Great American Middle Class, I recommend "Diary of a Mad Housewife," based on Sue Kaufman's perceptive novel. Carrie Snodgrass makes an impressive entrance into movies as an intelligent young woman, trapped by frenetic domesticity, two obnoxious little girls and an insensitive, social-climbing husband, whose mating call is "Tina, how about a little ole roll in the hay?"

I didn't know Richard Benja-

min could be so effectively smug and irritating. Frank Langella succeeds in being attractive as well as sadistic as the other man in Tina's life.

'To bed and relax'

Dialogue, right out of the book, is first-rate, and there's some inspired cutting, as when Benjamin patronizingly suggests his wife "go to bed and relax." She does, in the next scene. But not alone, and not with him.

Carefully chosen, vivid incidents include the husband, an imitation gourmet, getting deservedly put down by a French waiter, and the wonderful Christmas shopping sequence, with Santa picking his nose, automaton-like customers jamming department store escalators and a gem of a battle for a taxi.

"RPM," Stanley Kramer's drama of turbulence on today's campus, is irritating, badly cast, anti-climactic, but it still has a certain fascination. Lines like "My parents would be horrified if my brother burned his draft card, but not if he burns people in Vietnam" almost make the whole thing worthwhile.

Zorba in college

But I'm getting heartily sick of Anthony Quinn, here playing Zorba in college, "a 50-year-old fanny-pincher" in lumberman's shirts, gunning a motorcycle through the night and bedding down a 25-year-old graduate student. (Guess who? Ann-Margret!)

He's also a distinguished sociologist, it says here, an old radical who organized unions and fought in Spain. He fails miserably as a pro tem university president appointed during a sit-in of militants.

When the students threaten to destroy a \$2 million computer, Miss Margaret, in a surprisingly well-acted scene, demands, "What's more important, machinery or people?" But Quinn blows the whistle.

The by-now conventional student-police confrontation starts dramatically and fades into a slow-motion color-show anticlimax. Which side is Kramer on? Presumably the students', but they're such a rackety, grubby lot it's hard to be sure. (The blacks, led by Paul Enfield, have some dignity, but not the whites.) One thing I know: Nobody who fought Franco would have called the fuzz.

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An urgent proposal

—Continued on page 1

The war, some claim has brought great prosperity. And indeed it has, as Martin Gellen's article demonstrates in excruciating detail. But this prosperity is illusory, as many out of work

Lockheed executives can testify. It has generated the worst inflation-unemployment syndrome and diverted \$100 billion of national resources from the necessities of fighting poverty and saving a poisoned environment.

Clearly, the war has prevented unemployment here from rising drastically. But now with the war winding down, only BART and the downtown construction boom stand between San Francisco and depression.

The war undoubtedly aggravated the Bay Area's enormous environmental problems. Did the Navy really have to move Port Chicago to handle ammunition safely?

To fight the war, resources have been squeezed from those sectors of the economy that need them most—health care, education, welfare and cultural services. This has been especially true in minority communities.

The move should be to a peacetime economy emphasizing the rebuilding of society and providing for the social needs of education, health care and cultural services, not back to the cold war economy sought by the Nixon Administration. Real conversion include these measures:

1. An imaginative conversion plan for San Francisco's war industries (transportation and shipbuilding) and the region's war industries (aerospace and atomic energy) to create a diversified, self-sustaining economy.

2. A war profits tax, instituted by city and county, on industries doing business with the Defense Department. About

\$200 million is spent each year by the U.S. military to procure military supplies in San Francisco. Firms make about 12 per cent profit on this investment, thus leaving a rich tax source of about \$24 million. This would help the city meet its current expenses without further hiking up property taxes or levying more poor taxes in the form of 5 cent Muni fare raises, 5 per cent utility taxes and zoo fees.

3. Some mechanism to appropriate federal income taxes for peaceful local uses. San Franciscans pay just over \$1 billion in personal income taxes; in return, the federal government spends \$1.3 billion in San Francisco, but \$550 million goes for military related purposes.

The November elections could force a major shift on the war.

In a detailed study of the House of Representatives, political scientist Garrison Nelson says in the August "Progressive," "a silent hawkish majority... enables President Nixon to get what

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he wants--and sometimes more--in the pursuit of his aggressive foreign policy."

Forty-eight of these hawks are vulnerable politically and, House sources suggest, campaigns against 20 of the strategically placed hawks could result in a swing away from the House's militant stands.

It thus would be important to knock off our two worst Bay Area hawks in the house--George Miller of Alameda County (impos-

sible, his opponent is worse than he is) and William Mailliard of San Francisco (possible, by working for Russell Miller and his strong peace offensive.)

The strongest hawk-cleaning offensive: Vote for Unruh over Reagan, Tunney over Murphy, Miller over Mailliard, Dellums in Berkeley, and make certain that Edwards in San Jose, Waldie in Walnut Creek and McCloskey in San Mateo County make it back to the House. ♦

FREE LECTURE

SELF-ACTUALIZATION & PERSONAL GROWTH

SPEAKER: James Elliott, Director, Explorations Institute
TIME: 8:00 p.m., Sunday, Nov. 1, 1970
PLACE: Bonanza Room, Sheraton-Palace Hotel, S.F.

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ACCEPTANCE SPEECH OF FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT

Upon Receiving the Gold Medal of the American Institute of Architects

Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas, March 17, 1949

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

No man climbs so high or sinks so low that he isn't eager to receive the good will and admiration of his fellow man. He may be reprehensible in many ways, he may seem to care nothing about it; he may hitch his wagon to a star and, however he may be circumstanced or whatever his ideals or his actions, he never loses the desire for the approbation of his kind.

So I feel... humble and grateful—I don't think... humility... is a very becoming state for me, but I really feel by this token of esteem from the "home boys"—it has reached me... from almost every great nation in the world—it's been a long time coming from home. But here it is at last, and very handsomely indeed... and I'm extremely grateful. I don't know what change it's going to effect upon my course in future. It's bound to have an effect. I'm not going to be the same man when I walk out of here that I was when I came in. Because, by this little token in my pocket it seems to me that a **battle has been won**.

I felt that way... I was sitting in my little home in Arizona in '41... and the news came over the wire that the gold medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects had fallen to a lad out there in the Middle West in the tall grass. Well I felt then that the youngsters who have held, we'll say, with me, who have worked with me and who have believed, and made sacrifices, and taken the gaff with me... had won a worldwide fight. But it hadn't been won at home!

The Cape Cod Colonial... By the way, have any of you observed what we fellows have done to the Colonial? Have you seen it come down and its front open to the weather and the wings extend and have it become more and more reconciled to the ground? It has. You notice it.

Well anyway... it's very unbecoming on an occasion like this, to boast. But I do want to say something that may account in a measure for the fact that I have not been a member of your professional body... that I have consistently maintained an amateur's status. Long ago, way back in the days of Oak Park I set up a standard of payment for my services of 10 per cent. I have consistently maintained it. I have always felt a competition for the services of an architect—who, to me, is a great creative artist—was a sacrilege, a shame, and pointed to history to prove that nothing good ever came of it. And I think nothing good ever will come of it. Also, I think that to make sketches for anybody for nothing... to tender your services, to hawk yourself in the curb in any circumstances is reprehensible. Now I know the ideals of this Institute very well. I took them to heart years ago. And believe me, with this medal in my pocket, I can assert truthfully that never have I sacrificed one iota of those ideals in any connection whatsoever... The man does not live who can say that I sought his work.

And I remember in the very early days, when the children were running around the streets without proper shoes, and Mr. Moore across the way wanted to build a house. A fine house, a fine man, a great opportunity for a youngster like me. Well I had these ideals at heart, even then. And I never went to see Mr. Moore, and I never asked anybody to say a word for me because who was there who could say an honest one? They didn't know anything about me... So I glanced up, one day, through the plate glass door—and, by the way, I started the plate glass door—and there was Mr. and Mrs. Moore! Well, you can imagine how that heart of mine went pitty-pat! They came in and sat down opposite me.

"Now, Mr. Wright," he said, "I want to know why every architect I ever heard of and a great many I never heard of have come to ask me for the job of building my house."

"Well," I said, "I can't answer that question. But I am curious to know did Mr. Patton come?" Mr. Patton was the president of the Institute—that is, of the AIA—at that time.

"Why," he said, "He was the first man to come."

"Well now," I said...

Mr. Moore said, "Why haven't you come to ask me to build my house—you live right across the road."

"Well," I said, "You're a lawyer, aren't you, Mr. Moore? You're a professional man. If you heard that somebody was in trouble, would you go to him and offer him your services?"

"Ah-h," he said. "I thought that was it! You're going to build our house."

Well, it began that way, and it began to get noised about.

The next man was Mr. Baldwin, who was also a lawyer and wanted to build a house. Mr. Baldwin appears several months afterward and lays a check on the table. It wasn't a big check. It was \$350 but it would be \$3,500 now. And you can imagine what that did to me!

And he said, "Here's your retainer, Mr. Wright."

Well now, that's how it began, and it's been that way ever since. And I've never in my life asked a man to say a good word for me to another man who is going to build. Well now as a consequence I've been sitting around, waiting. I've spent a good many years of my life hoping somebody would come and give me something to do. And every job I ever had hit me out of the blue on the back of my head. Now that's true. So this gold medal, let's forget all about design, let's forget all about contributions to construction, and all the rest of it. I feel that I can stick it in my pocket and walk away with it just because I sat there, waiting for a job.

Now, of course, architecture is in the gutter. It is. I've heard myself referred to as a great architect. I've heard myself referred to as the greatest living architect. I've heard myself referred to as the greatest architect who ever lived. Now wouldn't you think that ought to move you? Well it doesn't. Because in the first place, they don't

= The ellipses (...) represent long pauses, not missing material.

know. In the next place, no architect in the sense that a man has now to be an architect ever lived, and that's what these boys in front of me here don't seem to know.

Architects as they existed in the ancient times—were in possession of a state of society as an instrument to build with. The guilds were well organized. The predetermined styles were well established—especially in the Gothic period. An architect in those days was pretty well furnished forth with everything he needed to work with. He didn't have to be a creator. He had to be a sentient artist with a fine perception, let's say, and some knowledge of building—especially if he was going to be... if he was going to engage in some monumental enterprise. But he didn't have to create—as he does now.

Now we have an entirely different condition. We live by the machine. Most of us aren't much higher in our consciousness and mentality than a man in a garage, anyhow. We do live by the machine. We do have the great products of science as our toolbox, and as a matter of fact science has ruined us as it has ruined religion, as it has made a monkey of philosophy, as it has practically destroyed us and sent us into perpetual war. Now that isn't our fault. But where—I ask you—were these new forms of building to come from—that could make full use of these advantages that have proved to us so disadvantageous? Who is going to conceive these **new buildings**? Where from? How come?

Now it's a great pity that the Greeks didn't have glass... great pity that they didn't have steel—spider spinning. Because if they had, we wouldn't have to do any thinking even now. We would copy them with gratitude. No, not with gratitude, we wouldn't even know we were copying them. We would take it all for granted. We wouldn't have the least gratitude.

But now—what must an architect be if he's really going to be one worth while—if he's really going to be **true** to his profession? He must be a creator. He must **perceive** beyond the present. He must see pretty far ahead. Well, let's not say that because we can all do that. But he must see into the life of things, if he is going to build anything worth building in this day and generation.

And you know, we ought to be the greatest builders the world has seen? We have the riches, we have the materials, we have the greatest release—ever found by man—in the steel and in glass. We have everything **but**. We have a freedom that never existed before. We profess democracy out of a mobocracy that is shocking, astounding, and arresting. But we have built **nothing** for democracy. We have built **nothing** in the spirit of freedom that has been ours. No. Look at Washington. Look anywhere. You can even to out and see the Shamrock in Houston. And, by the way, I want it recorded right here and now, that that building is built in what is called the International Modern style. Let's give the devil his due. Let's put it where it belongs. And anyhow, while we're speaking of that exploit—why? It ought to be written in front of it in great, tall letters, in electric lights: W-H-Y? **Why?** Well—Houston has it, and Houston is a good example of the capitalist city—the pattern of the capitalist city. Great—one single, great, broad pavement—skyscraper. In between—out on the prairie and in the mud—the people.

Well now, we are prosecuting a cold war with people who declare—with a fanatic faith that is pitiful—in the "have-nots." We declare a faith in the "haves"—when we act. We declare a faith in the union, or something beneficial to both the haves and the have-nots—when we talk. Now, when are we going to practice what we preach? When are we going to **build** for democracy? When are we going to understand the significance of the thing ourselves, and live up to it? When are we going to be willing to sit and **wait** for success? When are we going to be willing to take the great will and the great desire for the deed?

Now we can do it. We've got "enough on the ball," as the slang phrase is, to go on with in that direction, if we will. But to me the most serious lack, the thing we haven't got—and if you look over the political scene, of course, it's obscene—of all this thing we're talking about. Honor? Nowhere. Now what is a sense of honor? What would it be in architecture? What would it be in the building of buildings? What would it be in the living of a life? In a democracy—under freedom—not mistaking license for freedom, not mistaking individuality for personality, which is our great error and which characterizes us as a mobocracy instead of a true democracy. Now, what would a sense of honor be—that sense of honor that could save us now? As science has mowed us down—and we're lying ready to be raked over the brink—what could save us but a sense of honor? And what would that sense of honor be? Well... what is the honor of a brick? What would be an honorable brick? A **brick** brick, wouldn't it? A **good** brick. What would be the honor of a board? It would be a **good** board, wouldn't it? What's the honor of a man? To be a **true** individual—to live up to his ideal of individuality rather than his sense of personality. Now if we get that distinction straight—in our minds—we'll be able to go on. We will last—some—time. If we don't get it, we might as well prepare for the brink; we're going over.

Now I've been right about a good many things. That's the basis of a good deal of my arrogance. And it has a basis—that's one thing I can say for my arrogance. We can save ourselves. We're smart. We have a certain rat-like perspicacity. But we have the same courage, and that's what's the matter. I don't know of a more cowardly... well, I'm getting too deep in here now, and I can't swear—not tonight. But we are certainly a great brand of cowardice in America. We've let all our great opportunities to live a spiritual life with great interior strength and nobility of purpose in mind go by the board. Why—I've asked myself all these years—why? You've all seen it. I'm not telling you anything new. Churches, religion, what has it become? Philosophy—

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what is it? Education—what have you? Cowardice. What are the universities today? Overflowing with hungry minds and students. And yet—as I stand here now—I'm perfectly willing to admit and to confess that it's not the fault of the universities. It's not the fault of education. None of this is the fault of the systems that exist among us. They're our **own** fault. We make these things what they are. We allow them to be as they are. We've got the kind of buildings we deserve. We've got the kind of cities that're coming to us. This capitalist city, for instance, of which Houston is an example. **We** did it! It came to us because we are what we are—and don't forget it!

If we're ever going to get anything better, if we're ever going to come by a more honorable expression of a civilization such as the world is entitled to from us—we put ourselves on a hill here—in a high light—we talk about the highest standard of living the world has ever seen—we profess all these things—and **we don't deliver**.

It isn't the fault of institutions. It isn't the fault of any class. It isn't the fault of the big boys that make the money and make the blunders and shove us over the brink like we spoke of a minute ago. No. How would they **learn** better? How is a man like Mr. McCarthy* going to know any better? How are they going to find out? They can only find out by your disapproval. They can only find out by your telling the **truth**, first to yourselves, and then out loud wherever you can get a chance to tell it.

Now we've got to find honor. You know the old sayings—we dislike them now because they're a reproach. We don't honor the people that really... the men who came over with an ideal in their hearts and founded this basis, as they thought, for freedom. They couldn't foresee that by the way of sudden riches and these new scientific power put into our hands that we would be so soon degenerate. No.

Well now I think if we were to wake up and take a good look at ourselves, as **ourselves**—without trying to pass the buck—without trying to blame other people for what really is our own shortcoming and our own lack of character we would be an example to the world that the world needs now. We wouldn't be pursuing a cold war. We would be pursuing a great endeavor to plant, rear, and nurture a civilization. And we would have a culture that would convince the whole world. We'd have all the Russians in here on us, working for us—with us—not afraid that we were going to destroy them or destroy anybody else. It's because of cowardice and political chicanery, because of the degradation to which we have fallen—as **men**. Well, a crack comes to mind, but I'll refrain. My wife knows what it is... I'm not going to say it.

Well now that's serious enough, and that's all that I think I ought to say.

Now, I want to call your attention to one thing: I built it. I **have built** it. Therein lies the source of my arrogance—why I can stand here tonight, look you in the face, and insult you. Because, well... I don't think many of you realize what it is that has happened or is happening in the world, that is now coming toward us.

A little place where we live with 60 youngsters. We turned away 400 in the past two years and they come from 26 different nations. They all come as volunteers because this thought that we call organic architecture has gone abroad. It has **won** abroad under different names. Singular thing: we will never take an original thought or an idea until we have diluted it—until we have passed it around and given it a good many names. After that takes place, then we can go and we **do** go.

Well, that has happened. This thing has been named different names all over the world. It's come back home—and I use the word—I say come back home, advisedly, because here is where it was born, here it was born—in this cradle, as we're fond of calling it, of liberty—which has degenerated into license. Now what are we going to do with it? Are we going to let it become a commonplace and shove it into the gutter? Are we going to? Or are we going to really look up to it—use it—honor it? And, believe me, if we do, we have found the centerline of a democracy. Because the principles of an organic architecture, once you comprehend them, naturally grow and expand into this great freedom that we hoped for when we founded this nation and that we call democracy.

Well, it's enough, isn't it?

* Glenn Herbert McCarthy, who financed the Shamrock Hotel.

ON GUARD

Still 'Banned by the SF Press Club'

Larry McDonnell, PG&E's top public relations man, refused to appear on a recent KABL radio program on the PG&E/Hetch Hetchy power scandal. The reason, McDonnell told the KABL reporter, was because a Guardian editor was interviewed for the program and because The Guardian wasn't a "credible" paper.

No facts, no argument, no refutation, just quiet swipes at Guardian "credibility"—that's been the McDonnell/PG&E line since The Guardian began disclosing two years ago how PG&E steals over \$30 million a year in power revenue from San Francisco in defiance of federal law, the U.S. Supreme Court and the city charter.

It was no surprise then to watch McDonnell/PG&E move quietly to blackball the Guardian, as a consistent winner, from the press club's Pulitzer of the West newspaper awards contest. (My God: what if the Guardian's PG&E exposes won this year, as did our grand jury expose last year?)

It was surprising to watch the awards committee and club directors and Examiner/Chronicle executives with influence in the club gather about McDonnell like rams in a storm, rumps together, horns out, and refuse to budge. (See Lynn Ludlow's 'Dear Larry' letter on pg. 15.)

Bruce B. Brugmann, Guardian editor and publisher, appealed three times in writing to the club's directors under guidelines set down by Dick Alexander, Examiner reporter and club first vice-president.

His first letter was not only rejected, but the directors decided without dissent to not notify Brugmann of their decision. Brugmann's second letter was ignored.

In his third letter, Brugmann pointed out that, by allowing PG&E/McDonnell to blackball the Guardian because of the Guardian's PG&E exposes, the directors were now:

1. "...a party in perpetuating and covering up a great San Francisco scandal far beyond the scope and cost of Abe Ruef, Russell Wolden and Candlestick Park... PG&E's success in keeping San Francisco from selling its own power to its own citizens is dependent on silence and complicity from the Ex/Chron."

2. "...actively giving aid and comfort to the Ex/Chron monopoly and their rate-fixing stranglehold on San Francisco journalism... actively opposing the Guardian's major constitutional lawsuit in federal court to challenge the monopoly and restore real competitive journalism to San Francisco."

"The Ex/Chron, too, is seeking to discredit the Guardian as Chron did the two challengers to its KRON broadcast license; Chron has had the Guardian and its staff members under surveillance for months by private dicks, as testimony in the KRON case revealed."

"You will note for the record," Brugmann said, "no executives of the Ex/Chron, the club's two dominant newspapers, supported the Guardian on grounds of free press, fair play or competitive journalism."

"I'm not complaining," he added, "I'm just making the obvious point of the identity of interest of PG&E/Ex/Chron over the scotch and behind the Big Black Cat at the club and but another example of the sudy working relationship the Ex/Chron has with about every major flack in town. This PG&E/Ex/

Chron palsy walsy is so comfy that McDonnell/Bob Gross/Bob Letts could be installed tomorrow at the Examiner or the Chronicle city desk; in turn the Examiner's Dick Alexander/Gayle Cook/Josh Eppinger/Ed Dooley/Dick Nolan and the Chronicle's Stanton Delaplane/Charlie Raudebaugh/Abe Mellinkoff could be installed in the public relations department of PG&E without a break in stride for the PG&E Progress, the San Francisco Examiner or the San Francisco Chronicle.

"Is this really your intention? Do you intend to stick in tight formation with PG&E/Ex/Chron and support press censorship, newspaper banning, municipal scandal and newspaper monopoly in one sweep down the field?"

Instead of taking up Brugmann's appeal, the directors approved a resolution commending McDonnell for his diligence, imagination and initiative in handling the Pulitzer awards contest this year. They also decided not to notify Brugmann of their decision.

(McDonnell, incidentally, got \$22,000 and \$1,149 in expenses in 1969 as a PG&E public relations man, according to PG&E exhibits on file with the PUC. PG&E in 1969 also paid press club dues and chits for four PG&E public relations men: \$312, \$151, \$302 and \$151 for a grand total of \$916. This is about half the Pulitzer prize total of \$2,000 in cash prizes.)

Directors at the meeting were: McDonnell, Alexander, Charles Raudebaugh (Chronicle investigative reporter), Harry Ross (former city controller), Paul Speegle (symphony public relations director), Graham Kislinsky (of the Kislinsky Advertising Agency), Don McLaughlin (PT&T public relations man), Robert Meyers (former SF bureau chief of the Associated Press, now with Whitaker & Baxter public relations firm), Josh Eppinger (the Examiner's associate managing editor) and George Shimmom (commercial photographer.)

Directors not at the meeting were: Superior Court Judge Francis McCarty, Ed McLaughlin (director of KGO radio), Ray Leavitt (SF's chief deputy city assessor) and Club President Delaplane. (Delaplane was a real Pulitzer prize winner, of the Columbia University variety, in the early 1940s.)

Larry Dum, Examiner reporter and club secretary, had turned in his written resignation just before the meeting—not because of the Guardian blackball, he told The Guardian, but over a series of differences with the directors and the club.

After the vote of confidence from fellow directors, McDonnell said thanks and the resolution was duly entered in the club minutes. As before, there was not a word about Brugmann's protest, nor the Pulitzer judge resignations, nor the many letters and calls of protests, nor Sen. Metcalf's critical comments on the club on the floor of Congress.

Brugmann's postscript was prophetic:

"PG&E's gas and power monopoly was born and bred in corruption and bribery: it paid Abe Ruef \$1,000 a month in "attorney's fees," three key PG&E executives were indicted for bribery during the Ruef graft prosecution. For the next five decades, PG&E has illegally kept San Francisco from selling its own power to its own people and today steals \$30 million a year from every business and residence in the city. Its PR man is head of the Pulitzer awards committee, blackballs the Guardian, will preside over the awards presentation at the banquet, will announce, congratulate, and shake hands with each Pulitzer winner."

"There you have it: the state of San Francisco journalism in September of 1970."

Adverseria

One of the more elitist and reactionary documents we have read in quite some time is SPUR's recent housing report. Its most noteworthy conclusion—eagerly supported by Chronicle and Examiner editorials—is that the city should limit its "dependency rate" by not providing decent housing for poor newcomers.

The report refers to the need for "protecting the stability of middle-income neighborhoods" and asserts that any increase in the proportion of poor in the city "would lead to a deterioration in the quality of life in our community."

At a time when many thousands of San Francisco families are living in dilapidated and overpriced housing, the result of such a report—intended or not—is to increase hostility toward the poor and programs which they need, such as low-rent housing.

SPUR professionals know full well, or ought to, that people generally migrate for jobs and personal reasons, not because housing is available. Poverty does indeed deteriorate the quality of life. But the answer is not to keep the poor out of "our" community. It is to end poverty.

A good reporter resigns

Labor-management affairs are especially important in San Francisco, a "union town," and The Chronicle has covered them well for many years.

For the past seven years and until just recently, the coverage was handled by Dick Meister, who built a reputation as one of the country's finest labor editors. For many of us, his expert reporting was one of the few strengths on a newspaper that had Earl C. (Squire) Behrens covering politics as the Grand Old Man of the Republican Party, Bud Boyd covering the out-of-doors while on retainer with Lake Shastina Properties for \$220 a month, Ferris Hartman representing the Chronicle foreign service from his Paris apartment and two law firms covering the Failing Newspaper and KRON license renewal fronts in Washington, D.C.

Meister's coverage won The Chronicle credit from labor, management and the general public for fair and thorough reporting in a highly controversial and complex area in which only a handful of newspapers are either fair or thorough, and certainly no other dailies in the Bay Area.

Recently, however, The Chronicle's management apparently decided to abandon fair coverage of labor-management affairs, by downgrading, distorting or simply ignoring labor's side of the story—particularly in covering farm union activities and the bitter printers' strike at The San Rafael Independent-Journal.

Meister complained this summer that his stories were being mistreated by Chronicle editors to conform to this policy—and he was ordered off the labor beat and told he would stay off until he adjusted his attitude to that of The Chronicle's management.

So, in mid-August, Meister quit. And The Chronicle has been carrying out its apparent new policy with a vengeance. It has virtually abandoned the labor beat, at best publishing sketchy and inept stories written, not from a detached observer's point-of-view, but from the view of a management observer.

In the extremely significant farm labor dispute in Salinas' lettuce fields, for instance: The Chronicle has told us a lot about the price of lettuce, about how growers process the lettuce, and similar matters. But we don't read much about the conditions, needs and aspirations of the workers who are fighting the growers, about the issues in the dispute or about how it came about. Compare Meister's authoritative story in this Guardian with Chronicle boycott coverage of the past two months.

A small but illustrative point: The whole point and main strength of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee is its democratic rank-and-file control. The growers know this and so they try to lessen the appeal of the organization by describing it as the personal tool of a "union boss," Cesar Chavez.

Now, The Chronicle does it too. The Organizing Committee has become "Cesar Chavez' Farm Workers Union," the lettuce strike is "Chavez' strike" and the lettuce boycott is "Chavez' boycott."

Sketch by Mick Stevens
1970, The San Francisco
Bay Guardian Co.

